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CONTENTS

Notes on Flower Symbolism in China

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SCANT attention has been paid to this subject by Western writers, so even an incomplete approach to it may not come amiss. The field being far too wide for any attempt at comprehensiveness within the space of a short article, I have singled out *the numerical categories*, since they offer a fairly coherent and manageable group.

Under this heading there is no simpler kind of symbolism than that which uses certain flowers to typify the Four Seasons and the Twelve Months. It is a symbolism based of course, primarily on the times of their blooming; hence it varies in different localities according to the climate. Some diversity, too, results from the personal tastes of those writers, artists, and craftsmen whose works started the notions or helped to give them currency.

Can classical origins be found for the choice? The so-called Hsia Calendar might be expected to prove illuminating; for it describes, month by month, the phenomena of nature, the routine of husbandry and other seasonal happenings. Entitled *Hsia hsiao chêng* 夏小正, this calendar forms section 47 of the *Ta Tai li* (**5**).* It is said to be a relic of the dynasty which is supposed to have flourished, early in the second millennium B.C., immediately before the Shang-Yin. But certain astronomical data it contains seem to contradict that attribution. They were studied by Dr. Chatley recently, and he deduced therefrom a date some 1,500 years later (**7**). Its year begins midway between the winter solstice and the spring equinox, that is, on the 4th or 5th February. This arrangement was adopted in 104 B.C., and it remained the official norm almost continuously until A.D. 1927. Throughout the present article the months will be thus counted, unless otherwise stated.

* Here and afterwards in this article a numeral in bold type refers to the respective item in the list of writings at the end.

Scrutiny of the terse and often obscure sentences of the *Hsia hsiao chêng* yields rather disappointing results. For only four months out of the twelve is there definite mention of plants flowering. Under the first month it says: "The plum (*mei*, *Prunus Mume*), apricot and *t'o* peach then blossom 梅杏柂桃則華." Perhaps the word *t'o* 柂 signifies a separate tree, although commentators generally take it to qualify the next word, the two meaning the "mountain peach". The *Êrh ya* (2, ix, 1) likens the *t'o* (written 椸) to the white poplar (*pai yang* 白楊, *Populus alba*). The violet (*Viola sylvestris*) may be the flower named under the second month when it says, "the *chin ts'ai* blooms 榮菫采也." As to the third month, there is the sentence 拂桐芭也 which certainly refers to the *t'ung* tree (*Paulownia imperialis*) in blossom, though the meaning of the first character is open to doubt, it may denote its "sweeping" branches. During the ninth month "blooms the chrysanthemum 榮鞠". In the fourth month the flowering of the sow-thistle (*Sonchus oleraceus*) may be alluded to by the sentence 取荼荼也—a surmise encouraged by the fact that the sow-thistle does bloom then.

Three other ancient calendars parallel with slight variations the foregoing allusions to the flowering of plants. The first forms section 52 of the *Chou shu*, often called by a title which accepts the false tradition that it was one of the texts, written on bamboo slips, said to have been found in A.D. 281 by robbers who broke open a royal tomb, dating from about 299 B.C., at Chi 汲 in northern Ho-nan (c. 1). Since the times of the year are there indicated by solar terms (*ch'i* 氣), they may be correlated easily with the months numbered according to the "Hsia Calendar". Early in the second month the peach begins to flower; the *t'ung* tree is in bloom early in the third month, the chrysanthemum late in the ninth. These floral events tally with those noticed in the "Hsia Calendar". For the fourth month also a plant is named, and here there can be little doubt that the flowering of the sow-thistle is

meant. The sentence is *k'u ts'ai hsiu* 苦菜秀. The *Êrh ya* defines *hsiu* as a term for seeding without flowering (2, viii, 21); but in that sense it does not fit the case, and probably it should be taken here as equivalent to *jung* 榮 "to blossom". Observe that stress is laid on the flowering of these four in due season, evidently as marks of nature's normal round. It states, moreover, that exceptions forbode ill. "If the peach begins not to blossom at the period of 'awakened insects' (about 5th March), the *yang* will be wanting 是謂陽否." "If the *t'ung* tree fails to flower at the 'clear and bright' period (about 5th April), there will be severe cold that year 歲有大寒." "If the sow-thistle fails to flower at the period of 'growing crops' (about 21st May), worthy men will be scattered and hidden 賢人潛伏." "If ten days after the period of 'cold dew' (about 8th October) the chrysanthemum lacks its yellow flowers, the crops will not be garnered 土不稼穡."

A third ancient calendar is that in the section of the *Li chi* (3) entitled *Yüeh ling* 月令, "Seasonal Ordinances." It names the same flowerings as the *Chou shu*, with an addition for the fifth month, the shrub mallow (*mu chin* 木堇, *Hibiscus syriacus*).

Huai-nan Tzŭ, compiled in the second century B.C., has a section concerning the seasons which matches the *Yüeh ling* in this respect, except that it associates the plum (*li* 李, *Prunus domestica*) with the peach, and in each instance it antedates the flowering by a month (c. 13, v, 4–32). The reason for the different notation is that it follows the Chou calendar which started the year early enough to include the winter solstice (23rd December) within the first month.

Our examination of these four calendars, while disclosing some unanimity, fails, I think, to prove the presence of an actual symbolic formula. The theory might be advanced that the Four Seasons are indeed typified: spring by the peach, apricot, *t'ung* tree and violet; summer by the sow-thistle and mallow; autumn by the chrysanthemum; and

winter by the plum (*mei*). Yet the group lacks symmetry, and a reasonable conclusion seems to be that it but includes the flowers which for various reasons most attracted remark. Furthermore, no group for the Four Seasons, nor indeed for the Twelve Months, figures among the generally recognized numerical categories of literature, if we take as standards a thesaurus of such categories (17), compiled at the end of the thirteenth century, and the sections devoted to that subject in the great encyclopædia *T'u shu chi ch'êng* 圖書集成. Mention should be made that a certain group of trees, one for each of the Twelve Months, does appear in these lists, being quoted from that very section of *Huai-nan Tzŭ* which we have examined. On turning to the original text, however, there seems to be no evidence that the times of their flowering determined the choice of these trees, and so no more need be said about them here.

During recent centuries sets of flowers symbolizing the Four Seasons and the Twelve Months have gained wide popularity. They appeared frequently in all mediums of artistic expression; but let me first give examples of another kind of currency. The two tracts which I am about to describe may be fitly classed as folklore; for in order that their proselytizing aims might be effective the authors had to cite notions familiar to the masses. Entitled *Precious Book of Flower Names* (*Hua ming pao chüan* 花名寶卷), the Buddhist tract was published at Hang-chou 杭州 about sixty years ago. It gives for each month of the year twelve rhymed lines, beginning with the name of a flower linked with the month. The order of the flowers is as follows: (1) camellia (*ch'a* 茶, *Camellia japonica*); (2) apricot (*hsing* 杏, *Prunus armeniaca*); (3) peach (*t'ao* 桃, *Prunus persica*); (4) rose (*ch'iang wei* 薔薇, *Rosa multiflora*); (5) pomegranate (*shih liu* 石榴, *Punica Granatum*); (6) lotus (*ho* 荷, *Nelumbium speciosum*); (7) balsam (*fêng hsien* 鳳仙, *Impatiens balsamina*); (8) cassia (*kuei* 桂, *Osmanthus fragrans*); (9) chrysanthemum (*chü* 菊, *Chrysanthemum sinense*); (10) field mallow (*fu jung* 芙蓉,

Hibiscus mutabilis); (11) "li-chee" (*li-chih* 荔枝, *Nephelium litchi*); and (12) winter-sweet (*la mei* 臘梅, *Chimonanthus fragrans*).

The publication of this tract, an act of merit by a Buddhist devotee, evidently stirred a Christian convert to rivalry; for a second tract appeared about the same time and in the same locality, obviously an imitation of the other. It differs but slightly in arrangement—the verse for each month is shortened to eight lines, and the symbolism for only the last two months is changed, winter-sweet being the flower for the eleventh month, and plum (*mei*) for the twelfth. Its alternative title, too, is similar: *Rhymes on Flower Names* (*Hua ming chüeh chü* 花名絕句). The first title, *A Fine Ballad to Awaken the Age* (*Hsing shih miao ko*), may be read from the woodcut on its cover, reproduced here (Fig. 1) because it provides an apt illustration of our subject. Observe that the flowers are the plum (*mei*), tree-peony (*mu tan* 牡丹, *Pæonia moutan*), chrysanthemum and orchid (*lan hua* 蘭花, *Bletia hyacinthina*). Presumably they stand for spring, summer, autumn and winter, respectively, thus varying the more generally accepted group for the Four Seasons by the substitution of peony for lotus. A sprig of bamboo, green throughout the winter, is introduced near the orchid to round off the design. In the centre of the cover an evangelist is shown pointing heavenward while he sings the ballad to his intended disciple with a voice "that may be heard on high", as declared by four somewhat illegible characters 聲聞於上 (*v. Isaiah*, lviii, 4).

The remark has been made that this Christian tract was probably conceived as a counterblast to the Buddhist one. It was published at the Hall of the One Faith (Hsin-i T'ang 信一堂), a missionary foundation at Hang-chou. Like the other, it is anonymous; and I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. A. C. Moule, who kindly brought both tracts to my notice, for the information that the author was named Tai 戴, "a fairly good amateur artist who probably designed the cover. He used to draw quite interesting pictures of Bible scenes—

FIG. 1 Cover of Christian tract

one of the Good Samaritan attained unexpected fame as a most popular piece-goods chop."

Wu Yu-ju 吳友如, a prolific genre-painter about the middle of last century, enjoyed the patronage of the Marquis Tsêng Kuo-ch'üan 曾國荃, who employed him to depict scenes in his campaigns against the T'ai-p'ing Rebels, and introduced him at Court. Wu preferred, however, to live in Shang-hai, where he had the distinction of being the first Chinese painter to contribute cartoons and other drawings to the newspapers. Many examples of this artist's work are reproduced by photo-lithography in an album, published at Shang-hai with the title *Ku chin jên wu t'u* 古今人物圖, which Mr. Chiang Yee 蔣彝 has kindly shown me. Among them are twelve drawings, each having for its subject a flower symbolizing one of the Twelve Months together with the genius of that flower (*hua shên* 花神). Plum (*mei*) blossom appears for the first month, and the figure is that of Liu Mêng-mei 柳夢梅, a leading character in the play, entitled *The Peony Pavilion* (*Mu tan t'ing* 牡丹亭), written by T'ang Hsien-tsu 湯顯祖 about the end of the sixteenth century. For the second month, a bough of apricot blossom in a vase is being admired by the buxom and beautiful Yang Yü-huan 楊玉環, most famous of all imperial concubines, who lived in the first half of the eighth century and almost brought about the downfall of the T'ang dynasty. The third month has the martial figure of the Sung General Yang Yen-chao 楊延昭 beside a flowering peach-tree. Next is the rose month, and a rose is held in the dainty fingers of Chang Li-hua 張麗華, favourite concubine of the last Ch'ên 陳 emperor at the end of the sixth century. The artist has added a hare pounding with pestle and mortar the Elixir of Life as a reminder that the emperor used to liken the Lady Chang for beauty to the Goddess of the Moon. The fifth month belongs to the pomegranate, and its genius is the exorcist Chung K'uei 鍾馗, a favourite figure in Chinese myth, to the present day depicted

Fig. 2 T'ao Ch'ien and his chrysanthemums By Wu Yu-ju

as a scare-demon at the time of the New Year. Like all the even-numbered months, the next is fittingly typified by a lady, and she holds a lotus. She is Hsi Shih 西施 of the fifth century B.C., whose fascinations were enlisted on behalf of her native State of Yüeh 越 to captivate the Prince of the rival Wu 吳 State. The seventh and eighth months are here linked romantically: for Wu chooses the two principals in a famous love tragedy as genii of the respective flowers, the balsam and the cassia. The first is Shih Ch'ung 石崇, a wealthy nobleman of the Western Chin period (A.D. 265–316), who refused to hand over his adored concubine, called Lü Chu 綠珠, at the demand of a powerful rival. Thereupon the rival contrived his ruin, and the faithful lady escaped outrage to her affections by throwing herself from a high building. Identification of the chrysanthemum with the ninth moon is perhaps the oldest and most constant of floral traditions; it appears in all the four ancient calendars examined

above. So firmly established is the association of a famous poet with this flower that Wu could hardly have done otherwise than adopt the combination (Fig. 2). The poet is T'ao Ch'ien 陶 潛, generally called by his style Yüan-ming 淵 明, who lived A.D. 365–427. Poverty forced him to take official posts, the restraints of which irked him so much that several times he abandoned this mode of livelihood for freedom in a cottage, tending his beloved chrysanthemums, writing verses, and tippling. The autumn mallow stands for the tenth month, and a lady named Hsieh Su-ch'iu 謝 素 秋, whose identity is unknown to me, figures as its genius. For the eleventh month there is a species (*oleifera*) of camellia which is called *shan ch'a* 山 茶. The famous poet and statesman Po Chü-i 白 居 易, who flourished in the first half of the ninth century, is linked with it. Winter-sweet typifies the last month, and an aged dame is its genius. She is Lao Ling-p'o 老 令 婆, well-known through the medium of both the novel and the play *Yang chia chiang* 楊 家 將 as mother of the General who figures for the third month.

If comparison be made between this set of twelve drawings and the two tracts, there is almost complete agreement as to choice of flowers. The few discrepancies affect only two or three of the months. Be it remembered that the tracts were published at Hang-chou, and that the painter Wu, a native of the neighbouring city of Su-chou 蘇 州, did most of his work at Shang-hai. So all the examples come from the same region, as well as from the same period, about the middle of last century. Perhaps this is mere coincidence, and evidence might be found that the notions had much wider currency as to time and locality. A date at least two hundred years earlier is attested by certain floral designs on porcelain made at Ching-tê Chên 景 德 鎮. But that place again lies within the same eastern part of central China.

Further north one would naturally expect to find some change in symbolic choice to accord with the effect of a colder climate on the times of flowering. My data concerning this

are derived mainly from a number of twelve-fold screens which offer the advantage of unmistakable sequence in the arrangement of the flowers portrayed. Most of the screens belonged to the kind which are still called by the queer name "Coromandel", reminiscent of early importations to Europe through the agency of the East India Companies. Wood was the basis, and the technique was to coat it with a hard composition which then received a covering of black lacquer. At the right stage of drying, the lacquer was cut away in the shapes of the designs, leaving bare the composition which afterwards was coloured and sometimes gilded. Skilled examples of this work are strikingly beautiful, and some are at least as old as the K'ang-hsi period (A.D. 1662–1722). Though Ho-nan is said to have been the chief place of manufacture, some were made in Peking, where the craft was still practised nearly thirty years ago, according to my own observation. Flowers enter into almost all the designs, and, since screens usually comprise twelve leaves, an appropriate motif is a floral pageant of the year. But I am bound to say that my notes, derived from many examples, so far from disclosing a set symbolic formula, comparable to that which we examined from central China, indicate great variability. Still, there seems to be one series which was more popular than others. It is as follows: (1) peach; (2) tree-peony; (3) wild cherry (*yiñg t'ao* 櫻桃, *Prunus pseudocerasus*); (4) magnolia (*mu lan* 木蘭, *Magnolia oborata*); (5) pomegranate; (6) lotus; (7) crab-apple (*hai t'ang* 海棠, *Pyrus spectabilis*); (8) field mallow; (9) chrysanthemum, (10) gardenia (*chih tzŭ* 梔子, *Gardenia florida*); (11) poppy (*ying tzŭ su* 罌子粟, *Papaver somniferum*) and (12) plum (*mei*).

In short, having failed in my search for a fixed seasonal set peculiar to the north, I must make the most of the one known to have prevailed around the Lower Yang-tzŭ. As already remarked, it may have had a much more extended distribution, and this surmise finds support from certain literary names in common use for the months. For instance,

the second month is called after the apricot, the third after the peach, the sixth after the lotus, the eighth after the cassia, and the ninth after the chrysanthemum—all in accord with the lists we have examined previously.

Another symbolic group of twelve is almost as well-known as the sets for the months. Tradition has kept in memory the fondness of a Sung flower-painter, named Chang Min-shu 張敏叔, for a certain group which he called his guests (*k'o* 客). He assigned to each some quality, thereafter often associated with the flower. The cassia (*kuei* 桂) he named his fairy (*hsien* 仙) guest; the plum (*mei*) his pure (*ch'ing* 淸) guest; the chrysanthemum his long-lived (*shou* 壽) guest; the orchid (*lan* 蘭) his retiring (*yu* 幽) guest; the lotus (*lien* 蓮) his tranquil (*ching* 靜) guest; the tree-peony (*mu tan* 牡丹) his bountiful (*shang* 賞) guest; the daphne (*jui hsiang* 瑞香) his elegant (*chia* 佳) guest; the clove-tree (*ting hsiang* 丁香) bloom his simple (*su* 素) guest; the brier-rose (*t'u mi* 荼蘼) his refined (*ya* 雅) guest; the cinnamon rose (*ch'iang wei* 薔薇) his rustic (*yeh* 野) guest; the jasmine (*mo li* 茉莉) his remote (*yüan* 遠) guest; and the peony (*shao yao* 芍藥) his intimate (*chin* 近) guest.

This list is translated from a somewhat rare catalogue of designs for the moulding of ink-cakes, where it appears as the legend on one side of a cake, thus serving to explain the picture of the Twelve Guests on the other side, reproduced here in Fig. 3. The artist was the sixteenth-century painter Ting Yün-p'êng 丁雲鵬, as may be learnt from the appended seal-imprint giving his style, Nan-yü 南羽. His is one of many floral motifs among the designs reproduced with excellent woodcuts in the catalogue which is such a remarkable work that I think it calls for more than passing notice. Its publication under the title *Fang shih mo p'u* (10), probably first in 1588, by an ambitious ink-maker, named Fang Yü-lu, was quite an event in the history of Chinese book-production. Prepared with the aid of leading scholars, calligraphists, and painters, it offered a fine repertory of

名華十二客

Fig. 3 The Twelve Guests By Ting Yün-p'êng

current design and marked a new development in the craft of ink-making.

The page of the *Fang shih mo p'u* measures 11¼ by 6¼ inches. No fewer than 709 woodcuts appear in the six volumes devoted to standard patterns of ink-cakes manufactured by Fang. Most of the cakes were plaque-like in shape and decorated on both sides—on one side with the design, and on the other with an appropriate inscription from the brush of a calligraphist. Sometimes the name of the artist appears, sometimes only his seal. Besides the designer of the Twelve Guests, already mentioned, the painters Wu T'ing 吳廷 and Yü K'ang-chung 俞康中 are the most frequent contributors. Each of the six illustrated volumes is assigned to one of the categories under which the designs are classified, viz.: (1) National Emblems (*kuo pao* 國寶); (2) National Designs (*kuo hua* 國華); (3) Antiquities (*po ku* 博古); (4) General Motifs (*po wu* 博物); (5) Buddhist Emblems (*fa pao* 法寶); and (6) Taoist Emblems (*hung pao* 鴻寶). The other two volumes contain facsimiles of literary effusions by such well-known statesmen and scholars as Wang Tao-k'un 汪道昆 and Li Wei-chêng 李維楨. Evidently Fang Yü-lu spared neither trouble nor money in thus glorifying himself and his wares in an effort to outshine a rival ink-maker named Ch'êng Chün-fang 程君房, a fellow-townsman of Shê 歙 Hsien in An-hui. Ch'êng was furious, especially at the publication of designs which he claimed as his own, and set about the production of a larger and better catalogue, which he soon brought out under the title *Ch'êng shih mo yüan* (8). The fact that it includes two biblical subjects, obtained from the Jesuit missionary Matthew Ricci, is sufficient proof of his resource in finding fresh designs. It includes also a woodcut depicting the Wolf of Chung-shan 中山狼, which attacked the man who saved it from a hunter's knife—a proverbial instance of ingratitude. The presence of this woodcut served as a reproach to Fang who had been befriended in poverty and taught the craft of ink-making by Ch'êng. The latter's

bitterness was not assuaged when Fang, formerly employed in his house as tutor, married a beautiful concubine whom Ch'êng had reluctantly dismissed because of his wife's jealousy. The tale of this notorious quarrel ends with an accusation of murder, suspected to have been prompted by Fang, which landed Ch'êng in prison, and there he starved himself to death in order to bring retribution upon his rival (**4**, cxvi, 13, 14 ; **9**, 31, 32).

To the student of art history the affair is of interest since it brought into existence two fine books which raised the ink-cake to the status of a medium for artistic expression. Thus started the vogue of prizing ink for sake of the forms in which it was moulded as well as for the ink itself. At least two of the cakes listed by Fang are inscribed "not to be rubbed" (*pu k'o mo* 不 可 磨), presumably because the designs they bear depict sacred personages—one Maitreya, the other the founders of the Three Religions (**10**, iii, 2 ; v, 21). For our present theme, the importance of these two catalogues lies in the multitude of their floral designs, several being of symbolic import.

After this digression, let us return to the numerical categories. The last example studied was the group of Twelve Guests ; next to it in the *Fang shih mo p'u* come eight designs presenting a similar group, the Ten Friends (*yu* 友) of a Sung scholar and official named Tsêng Ts'ao 曾 慥, whose style was Tuan-po 端 伯. The woodcuts are reproduced here (Figs. 4-7) in the order of the Catalogue (**10**, iii, 35, 36). Alongside the last cut there is the seal reading Tso-kan 左 干, his literary name (*tzŭ*) with which Wu T'ing's designs are signed. A note in the Catalogue explains the group. Two of the Ten Friends, cassia and plum (*mei*), are included also among the Twelve Guests and with the same attributes. Six more are found also in the other list, but here they have different attributes, viz. : the chrysanthemum, the elegant (*chia* 佳) friend of Tsêng Ts'ao ; the lotus, his volatile (*fou* 浮) friend ; the brier-rose, his harmonious (*yün* 韻)

Fig. 4 Peony (right); brier-rose and daphne (left)

friend; the jasmine his refined (*ya* 雅) friend; the daphne his rare (*shu* 殊) friend; and the peony his fascinating (*yen* 豔) friend. Two do not appear also among the Guests; they are the crab-apple, the renowned (*ming* 名) friend, and the gardenia (*tan po* 薝 蔔), the meditative (*ch'an* 禪) friend.

A group of flowers commonly named the Four Beloved Ones (*ssŭ ai* 四 愛) has been represented frequently in all mediums since the Ming period. To the well-read it recalls the personalities of four poets who are so famous that even to many less tutored their names convey a meaning. Hence this combination, which comprises chrysanthemum, orchid, plum (*mei*) and lotus, may be put among our flower symbols, apart from the fact that it typifies also the Four Seasons.

The earliest of the four poets is T'ao Ch'ien, whose proverbial fondness for chrysanthemums has already been noticed

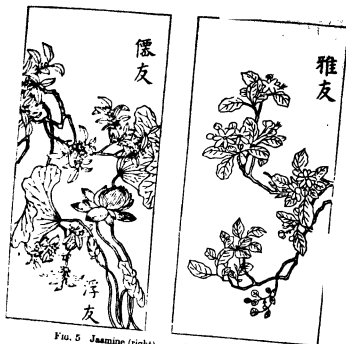



Fig. 5 Jasmine (right); cassia and lotus (left)

(p. 9). Wang Wei 王維, some three centuries later, also preferred to the cares of office a life of seclusion cultivating flowers. He took chief delight in orchids. His contemporary Mêng Hao-jan 孟浩然 also chose a hermitage rather than to mix in worldly affairs. When snow lay on the ground, Mêng was wont to ride a donkey in search of plum (*mei*) blossom, and with that picturesque habit tradition links him. In the eleventh century Chou Tun-i 周敦頤, though he kept to an official career, satisfied his inclinations by writing. A famous piece of prose is his *Explanation of my Love for the Lotus* (*Ai lien shuo* 愛蓮說), which every schoolboy used to learn by heart. The following translation may give the sense, but hardly the full literary flavour of the original. "A multitude of land and water plants bear flowers which are lovable. T'ao Yüan-ming in the Chin 晉 era loved chrysanthemums; from the time of the Li T'ang 李唐

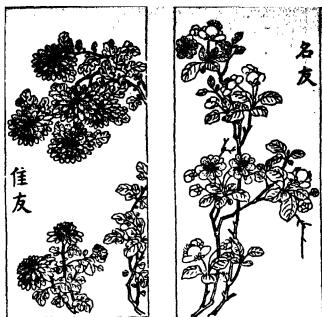



FIG. 6 Crab-apple (right); chrysanthemum (left)

dynasty (A.D. 618–907) affection for the peony has been the vogue; but I love best the lotus. Not flaunting its beauty, it rises unsullied from the mire, bathed by the flowing ripples. Its hollow stem [betokens guilelessness], its straightness [rectitude]. It puts forth neither tendrils nor branches; distance but perfects its perfume. Upright and dignified the lotus stands, to be gazed at from afar, not fingered with casual familiarity. For me the chrysanthemum symbolizes the scholarly recluse, the peony riches and office, and the lotus the gentleman. Ah! few since T'ao are known to have loved the chrysanthemum, and has there been one to love the lotus so much as I? Naturally, lovers of the peony have been many; [for many are the worldly-minded]" (18, xxix, 13).

I have merely touched the fringe of the numerical categories. The Chinese have a special liking for such groups, and certain

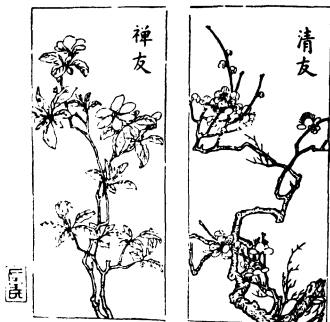



Fig. 7 Plum (right); gardenia (left) Seal of Wu T'ing

flower combinations have been repeated constantly. These standard motifs are often recognizable as coming within the numerical categories class by aid of the accompanying inscriptions. The few examples I have given might be multiplied easily, but here there is room for only one more. It is a woodcut (Fig. 8), another of Fang's ink-cake designs, which depicts a flowering tree, a pheasant, and one of those grotesque rocks which are much admired in China. The clue to the underlying message, if such there be, should be provided by the design for the reverse of the disk-shaped ink-cake, which consists of two large characters, *san mei* 三 媚, meaning the Three Graces (c. **10**, iv, 5). This is the customary title inscribed on the combination when it is used by painters, often prone to vary the components somewhat, either by such minor additions as bamboo foliage or by substituting one of the *Prunus* family for the branch of blossom in Fig. 8 which

Fig. 8 The Three Graces By Wu T'ing

is not easily identifiable. Perhaps some poet started the idea of the Three Graces, or the motif may have its foundation in several literary allusions. If so, the design should convey a symbolic import derived from the relevant associations, and so warrant its presence here. Having failed myself in the quest, I leave the riddle to the enterprising reader. Perhaps Fig. 8 has no subtle significance borrowed from the literary heritage, but merely copies a chance grouping by some long-forgotten artist. At all events, the design became a convention faithfully followed through many generations. As such it may serve the useful purpose of demonstrating that adherence to tradition which is typical of Chinese art in all its branches.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(*c.* stands for *chüan* or chapter)

ANONYMOUS

1 *Chi chung Chou shu* 汲冢周書. Fragments of Chou annals. 10 *c.* In *Han Wei ts'ung shu* 漢魏叢書

2 *Êrh ya* 爾雅. Terms in ancient writings. Probably 3rd century B.C. 10*c.* Nan-ch'ang: 1816 (edited by Juan Yüan 阮元)

3 *Li chi* 禮記. Ancient ritual texts, perhaps assembled by Tai Shêng 戴聖 under the Former Han (202 B.C.–A.D. 8). 63 *c.* Nan-ch'ang: 1816 (edited by Juan Yuan)

4 *Ssŭ k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu* 四庫全書總目. 200 *c.* Reprint 1868 of the critical catalogue (1789) of selected books, compiled by an imperial commission

5 *Ta Tai li chi* 大戴禮記. Ancient ritual texts, perhaps assembled by Tai Tê 戴德 under the Former Han. Edition annotated by K'ung Kuang-sên 孔廣森 in the 18th century. 13 *c.*

BRETSCHNEIDER, E.

6 *Botanicon Sinicum.* 3 parts. London & Shanghai: 1882–1895. Reprinted from vols. xvi, xxv, and xxix of *Jour. N.-China Br. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*

CHATLEY, H.

7 *The Date of the Hsia Calendar Hsia Hsiao Chêng.* In *JRAS* (1938), 523–533

CH'ÊNG CHÜN-FANG 程君房

8 *Ch'êng shih mo yüan* 程氏墨苑. Illustrated catalogue of ink-cakes. 12 *c.* About 1590

CHIANG SHAO-SHU 姜紹書

9 *Yün shih chai pi t'an* 韻石齋筆談. Art notes. Early 18th century. Pp. 1 + 3 + 32. Commercial Press reprint: 1937

FANG YÜ-LU 方于魯

10 *Fang shih mo p'u* 方氏墨譜. Illustrated catalogue of ink-cakes. 6 *c.* 1588

GILES, H. A.

11 *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary.* Pp. xii + 1022. London & Shanghai: 1898

LI SHIH-CHÊN 李時珍

12 *Pên ts'ao kang mu* 本草綱目. Materia medica, finished 1590. 53 *c.* + appendix. Nan-ch'ang: 1658

LIU CHIA-LI 劉家立

13 *Huai-nan chi chêng* 淮南集證. Annotated text of *Huai-nan Tzŭ.* 21 *c.* Shanghai: 1924

MATSUMURA, J.

14 *Nippon shokubutsumeii; or Nomenclature of Japanese Plants in Latin, Japanese and Chinese.* Pp. 4 + 209 + 93 + 3. Tōkyō: 1884

STUART, G. A.

15 *Chinese Materia Medica.* Pp. 4 + 558 + 6. Shanghai: 1911

WANG HSIANG-CHIN 王象晉

16 *Kuang ch'ün fang p'u* 廣羣芳譜. Botanical thesaurus. 100 c. Enlargement 1708 of first edition (1630), reprinted 1868

WANG YING-LIN 王應麟

17 *Hsiao hsüeh kan chu* 小學紺珠. Thesaurus of numerical categories. 13th century. 10 c.

WU CH'I-HSÜN 吳其濬

18 *Chih wu ming shih t'u k'ao* 植物名實圖考. Illustrated work on botany. 60 c. 1848

Music : The Priceless Jewel

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

> " Hearts are mines of jewels. . . . There is no way of extracting their hidden things save by the flint and steel of audition."
>
> Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn.*

THE interminable debate between Muslim legists concerning the propriety of " audition (*al-samā'*) ", or more properly " musical audition ", is probably the most interesting of Arabic polemical literature.[1] The subject of the dispute has been dealt with by several writers, and translations from three celebrated Arabic disputants, Ibn Abi'l-Dunyā (d. 894), Al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), and his brother Majd al-Dīn (d. 1126), as well as a Persian author Al-Hujwīrī (d. c. 1072) and the Jewish philosopher Maimonides (d. 1204), have been published in English.[2]

The work of Ibn Abi'l-Dunyā, the *Dhamm al-malāhī*, is, as the title indicates, a censure of audition ; music being linked with gambling, drunkenness, fornication, and *luwāṭ*, among the *malāhī* or forbidden pleasures. At the other extreme is the contribution of Al-Ghazālī to the subject in his *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, and that of Majd al-Dīn in his *Bawāriq al-ilmā'*. In each of these writers we have a spirited defence of audition from the *ṣūfī* standpoint that audition conduces to a divine ecstasy, by means of which ultimate truth and reality are attained.

[1] See the list of works on " audition " in H. G. Farmer's *Sources of Arabian Music : An Annotated Bibliography*, pp. 92–3.

[2] See D. B. Macdonald's translation of the section on " audition " from Al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* in an article entitled " Emotional Religion in Islām " (*JRAS.*, 1901–2) ; H. G. Farmer's *A History of Arabian Music* (1929), pp. 20–38, and his article " Maimonides on Listening to Music " (*JRAS.*, 1933) ; J. Robson's *Tracts on Listening to Music* (1938) ; and the *Kashf al-mahjūb* by Al-Hujwīrī, translated by R. A. Nicholson (1911).

There were, however, other writers who adopted "the golden mean" in the debate and expressed the ordinary, everyday, secular view of audition. Although there were early protagonists of this school of thought, since Ibn Khurdādhbih (d. c. 912) speaks of books on the *hay'at al-samā'*,[1] yet the earliest title of a book on the subject is the *Kitāb adab al-samā'* by Ibn Khurdādhbih himself.[2]

Not one of these books has been preserved and the earliest Arabic author dealing with the "golden mean" of audition whose work has come down to us is Abū 'Umar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, better known as Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (860–940). His defence of audition occurs in his *Al-'iqd al-farīd* ("The Unique Necklace"), and it is this defence which is offered here in its entirety, together with other sections on music from the same treatise.[3]

The *'Iqd al-farīd*[4] comprises twenty-five chapters (*kutub*). The middle chapter, as the central jewel of the necklace, is named *al-wāsiṭa*, whilst the pairs on either side of it are named after the same jewel, the second being distinguished by the word *al-thāniya*. Thus the chapter on audition is called the *Kitāb al-yāqūtat al-thāniya* ("The Chapter of the Second Ruby").

According to Arabic writers, the ruby, or more properly the pomegranate red ruby (*al-yāqūt al-aḥmar al-rummānī*), was considered "the Lord of Jewels",[5] and, like music itself, was supposed to have an exhilarating effect on the mind.[6] It was the former circumstance which prompted

[1] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, viii, 103.
[2] *Al-Fihrist*, p. 149.
[3] The text used is that of the Cairo edition, A.H. 1305. The chapter on audition, etc., occurs in vol. iii, pp. 176 et seq. The section on the "Origin of Singing and its Source" has been transposed from after the section on "The Disagreement of People about Singing" to before the section on "The Beautiful Voice".
[4] The original title was *Al-'iqd*, the words *al-farīd* being added later.
[5] Al-Ibshīhī, *Al-mustaṭraf* (Cairo, A.H. 1314), ii, 129.
[6] Al-Fīrūzābādī, *Al-qāmūs*, s.v.

me to give these extracts the rather specious caption, *Music: The Priceless Jewel.*

Although Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi's priceless jewel has fourteen facets (*fuṣūl*), what is reflected here is only from four of them, viz. *The Origin of Singing and its Source, The Beautiful Voice, The Disagreement of People about Singing,* and *Stories of the Singers.* The remaining facets illumine such diverse subjects as praises of the lute and singing in verse,[1] the effects of audition on listeners, musical anecdotes of 'Abdallāh ibn Ja'far,[2] Ibn Abī 'Atīq, 'Inān, Al-Dhalfā', etc.[3]

§ 1

Translation

(p. 176) CONCERNING THE KNOWLEDGE OF MELODIES AND THE DISAGREEMENT OF PEOPLE ABOUT IT

And now we shall speak, with the help and permission of Allāh, about the knowledge of melodies (*alḥān*), and the disagreement of people about it, and those who abhor it, and for what reason it is abhorred, and those who approve it, and for what reason it is approved.

And we do not wish this book of ours, after dealing with the different branches of polite literature, and wisdom, and curiosities, and proverbs, should be neglectful of this art which is the foraging ground of audition, and the pasturage of the soul, and the spring grass of the heart, and the arena of love, and the comfort of the dejected, and the companionship of the lonely, and the provision of the traveller, because of the important place of the beautiful voice in the heart and its dominating the entire soul.

Abū Sa'īd ibn Muslim [d. c. 785] said, "I said to ['Īsā

[1] The extracts are from Abū Nuwas, Di'bil, Al-Ḥamdūnī, 'Ukāsha ibn al-Ḥasin, Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi himself and a certain *Kitāb fi'l-'ūd* ("Book Concerning the Lute").

[2] A nephew of Caliph 'Alī and a distinguished amateur.

[3] The two latter were famous singing-girls.

ibn Yazīd . . .] ibn Da'b [d. 787], 'I appreciated most things (p. 177) with one exception, and I do not know what I did about it.' Then he said, 'Perhaps you refer to singing (*ghinā'*)?' I said, 'Certainly.' He said, 'If you had but seen me when I was cantillating (*tarannum*) a poem of Kuthayyar 'Azza where he says:—

> There never passed a day over me like her day,
> Even if other days were great and glorious.

you would have loosened your waist-band.' I said, 'Do you say this to me?' He said, 'Yes, by Allāh, and I was saying it to [the Caliph] Al-Mahdī [d. 785], the Commander of the Faithful.'"

§ 2

(p. 186) THE ORIGIN OF SINGING AND ITS SOURCE

Abu'l-Mundhir Hishām ibn al-Kalbī [d. 819] said, "Singing is of three kinds, the *naṣb*, the *sinād*, and the *hazaj*.[1] As for the *naṣb*,[2] it is the singing of the travellers (*ghinā' al-rukbān*) and the singing-girls (*qaināt*).[3] As for the *sinād*, it is the slow refrain (*al-thaqīl al-tarjī'*) with recurrent notes (*naghamāt*). As for the *hazaj*, it is the quick [rhythm], all of it, and it is that which stirs the hearts and excites the gentle-minded.[4]

The origin of singing and its source were clearly from the mother towns of the land of the Arabs, and they are Al-Medīna, and Al-Ṭā'if, and Khaibar,[5] and Wādī al-Qurā, and Daumat al-Jandal, and Yamāma. And these towns comprise the markets of the Arabs.

And it is said that the first who made the lute (*'ūd*) was Lamak [ibn Matūshalakh ibn Mahawīl ibn 'Abbād ibn

[1] Cf. Al-Mas'ūdī, op. cit., viii, 93, and the explanation of the divergence in Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, p. 50.

[2] The *naṣb* was a more artistic form of the *ḥudā'* (caravan-song).

[3] Al-Ibshīhī, op. cit., ii, 134, has *fityān* (youths) instead of *qaināt*. See Robson and Farmer, *Ancient Arabian Musical Instruments*, p. 19.

[4] For another version see Robson and Farmer, loc. cit.

[5] Al-Ibshīhī, loc. cit., adds Fadak after Khaibar.

Khanūkh] ibn Qābīl ibn Ādam,[1] and he lamented [a dirge] to it over his son.[2] And it is [also] said that its inventor was Ptolemy,[3] the author of [the *Kitāb*] *al-mūsīqī*, and it is the book of the eight melodies (*luḥūn*).[4]

And the first who sang among the Arabs were the two singing-girls of the [tribe of] 'Ād who are called "the two grasshoppers" (*al-jarādatān*). Of their singing is:—

> Woe to you, O prince, arise and speak,
> Perhaps Allāh will send us a cloud.[5]

And they only sang this when the rain was withheld from them.

And the Arabs used to call the *qaina* (singing-girl) the *karīna*, and the lute ('*ūd*) the *kirān*. And the *mizhar* is also the lute, and it is the *barbaṭ*.[6]

And the first who sang in [the days of] Islām, the graceful music (*ghinā' al-raqīq*) was Ṭuwais. And he taught Ibn Suraij, and Al-Dalāl [Nāfidh], and Naumat al-Ḍuḥā.[7] And he [i.e. Ṭuwais] was surnamed Abū 'Abd al-Mun'im."[8] And of his singing, and it is the first song (*ṣaut*) which was sung in [the days of] Islām, is:—

> Passion has emaciated me until
> I am almost dissolving from my passion."

[1] See Al Mas'ūdi, op. cit., viii, p. 88, for missing genealogy.

[2] Cf. Al Mas'ūdi, loc. cit., and Robson and Farmer, p. 19.

[3] See *Bibl. Geog. Arab.*, viii, 129, where it is said that since Ptolemy does not mention the lute in his *Kitāb al-mūsīqī*, it must have been unknown to the Greeks.

[4] That Ptolemy's *Harmonics* was known in Arabic is highly probable See Farmer, *Sources of Arabian Music*, p. 26.

[5] Cf. the verse in Al-Ibshīhi, ii, 134.

[6] That the *mizhar* was probably a tambourine see Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, ii, 29; *Ency. of Islâm*, iv, 985, Suppl., p. 74. Robson and Farmer, op. cit., p. 11.

[7] Cf. Al-Ibshīhi, loc. cit., where these two musicians are merged into one as Al-Dalāl Naubat al-Ḍuḥā.

[8] The text has Abū 'Abd al-Na'īm, and so has Al-Ibshīhī. Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques du Kitāb al-aghānī*, has Abū 'Abd al-Muna' 'am.

§ 3

(p. 177) THE BEAUTIFUL VOICE

Of the sayings of Allāh Most High is, "He adds to creation what he pleases." [1] One of the commentators says that it is the beautiful voice [which He adds to creation]. [2] And the Prophet (May Allāh bless him and give him peace) said to Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī [d. 662-3], when the beauty of his voice pleased him, "You have been given a reed-pipe (*mizmār*) from the reed-pipes of David." [3]

And physicians assert that the beautiful voice moves in the body and flows in the veins. In consequence, the blood becomes pure through it, and the heart is at rest through it, and the soul is quickened through it, and the limbs are agitated, and the movements are brisk. And for that reason they disliked that the child should be put to sleep after crying unless it be danced and sung to.

And Lailat al-Akhyalīya [d. 707] said to Al-Ḥajjāj [ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī], when he asked her about her child, and was delighted with what he saw of its youthfulness, "Verily, by Allāh, I was not pregnant with him carelessly, and did not bear him feet foremost, and did not suckle him whilst pregnant, and did not put him to sleep roughly, i.e. I did not put him to sleep when cross and crying." And her saying, "I was not pregnant with him carelessly" means, in the remains of the menses. And you say, "The woman became pregnant وضعاً وتضعاً [4]", if she became pregnant when the menses were impending. And as for her saying, "I did not bear him feet foremost," it means upside down. And as

[1] *Sūra*, xxxv, 1.

[2] Two of the commentators who held this view were Ibn al-'Abbās (d. 687–8) and Al-Zuhrī (d. 742).

[3] The reference may be to a psalm (*mazmūr*) rather than to a reed-pipe (*mizmār*) as I have suggested elsewhere. *Ency. of Islām*, iii, 540.

[4] Cf. text and see *Lisan al-'arab*, x, 288.

for her saying, "I did not suckle him whilst pregnant" it means with corrupt milk.

And the philosophers assert that musical notes (*nagham*) are a super-excellence (*faḍl*) that remain over from speech, which the tongue is unable to extract. But nature expresses it through melodies (*alḥān*), not by means of the repeated poetical feet (*taqṭī'*), but by the repeated musical phrase (*tarjī'*).[1] When it appears, the soul falls in love with it and the spirit sighs for it.[2] And for that reason Plato says that one part of the soul should not be prevented from loving another.

Do you not observe that the generality of the artisan class, when they fear being bored and are wearied in their bodies, cantillate (*tarannum*) with melodies (*alḥān*), and their souls find repose in them. And there is no person living who is not delighted with his own voice (*ṣaut*), and the resonance (*tanīn*) in his head pleases him.[3] And if it did not arise from the excellence of the voice, it would [still] be sufficient. Yet there is not on earth a pleasure, such as is derived from food, or dress, or drink, or marriage, or hunting, except that there is in it suffering for the body and weariness for the limbs.

And sometimes one apprehends the blessings of this world and the next through beautiful melodies. And a proof of that is that they induce generosities of character in performing kindness, and observing family ties, and defending one's honour, and overlooking faults. And sometimes man will weep over his sins through them, and the heart will be softened from its hardness, and man will remember the joys of the Kingdom [of Heaven], and image it in his mind.

And Abū Yūsuf [Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm] the judge [d. 795] used to frequent the court of [the Caliph Hārūn] al-Rashīd

[1] Hence the term *tarjī'* is used for the refrain of a song.
[2] Cf. the passage in Al-Ghazālī, op. cit., ii, 200, and *JRAS*. (1901), p. 721.
[3] The "head voice" has always appealed to the Arabs.

[d. 809] whilst there was singing (*ghinā'*), and in place of feeling pleasure at it, he would take to weeping, as though he remembered, through it, the felicities of the world to come. And Aḥmad ibn Abī Duwād [d. 854] said, "I was listening to the singing of Mukhāriq [d. *c.* 845] at the court of [the Caliph] al-Mu'taṣim [d. 842], and would be overcome with weeping until the very brute beasts would fall in love with beautiful voice and appreciate its excellence.

And [Abū 'Amr Kulthūm] al-'Attābī [d. 823–4] mentioned a [certain] man and said, 'Verily, by Allāh, his companion is indeed fortunate. His company causes more excitement than that which camels feel on account of the caravan-song (*ḥudā'*) and bees in singing (*ghinā'*).' And the author [Ibn Waḥshīya, *fl.* ninth cent.] of the *Falāḥāt* used to say that bees are, of all animals, the most delighted with singing, and that their young will alight for love of a noise (*zajal*) or the beautiful voice. And the *rajaz* poet says :—

> And the birds are sometimes driven to death
> By their listening to the beautiful voice.

And further, did Allāh ever create anything more striking to the heart and more impressive to the mind than the beautiful voice especially if it comes from a beautiful face, as the poet says :—

> Many a beautiful air (*samā'*)
> Have I heard from a fair one :
> Conducing to gladness,
> Removing from sadness.
> May these two leave me never,
> For the sake of my physical health.

And is there upon earth a timorous one, whose courage has flown, who sings in the words of Jarīr ibn al-Khaṭafā [d. 728–9] :—

> Say to the coward, when his saddle slips back
> Art thou from partnership in death escaping ?

without his spirit returning to him and his heart becomes strong ?

Or is there upon earth a miser, whose sides have become

shrivelled with meanness, who sings in the words of Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī [sixth cent.]:—

> The miser sees in money but one path.
> The generous man sees [many] paths in his money.

except that his finger tips loosen and his sides ooze [with generosity]?

Or is there upon earth a stranger, far from home, distant from domicile, who sings the poetry of (p. 178) 'Alī ibn al-Jahm [d. 863]:—

> O the loneliness of the stranger in a distant land.
> What matters anything to him.
> He is separated from his loved ones. Neither
> They nor he benefit from life after he has gone.
> [Yet] in his remoteness and estrangement he cries,
> In all that befalls is the justice of Allāh.

except that his heart [1] is pained with longing for his home and yearning for his dwelling?"

[1] Lit. "his liver".

(To be continued.)

Canaanite Pronominal Suffixes at Byblos and elsewhere

By A. M. HONEYMAN

IN the series of Phœnician inscriptions from Byblos,[1] ranging in date from the thirteenth to the first centuries B.C., there appear words containing pronominal suffixes in forms not observed elsewhere, and on the basis of these forms deductions have been drawn as to the character of the dialect of Byblos and the history of the pronominal suffixes. Some of the peculiarities are more apparent than real. Thus עלהם in Byb. 5, l. 6,[2] exhibits in place of the contracted form in ם׳ or the secondary metanalytic suffix in נם׳[3] the form in הם׳ which is regular in other Canaanite dialects for the third plural masculine suffix after the dual-plural[4] and other words in *-ay* or *-ē*.[5] There are no instances of the 3 pl. attached to a singular noun, nor of the 3 f.s. suffix attached to a singular noun. The two examples of the 3 f.s. suffix to the dual-plural noun[6] cannot be treated as forms peculiar to Byblos, for the 3 f.s. suffix to the dual-plural has not been

[1] I follow the provisional but convenient enumeration adopted by Harris, *Grammar of the Phœnician Language*, 158–9, where the bibliography of these documents is given. An eighth inscription from Byblos, belonging to the period of Byb. 1, is dealt with by Albright in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 73 (February, 1939), 11 sqq., Obermann in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lviii (1939), 229 sqq., and Dunand in the *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, ii (1938), 99 sqq. For the present discussion it contains no features of importance.

[2] I.e. *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, i, 1, l. 6.

[3] Harris, op. cit., 49 sq.

[4] The adoption of the dual construct genitive-accusative termination by the plural antedates the historical period of Canaanite. Cf. Bauer-Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache*, § 64 f.

[5] Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 93 ss. In vernacular Punic there occur *syllohom* (שלהם) and *ubymysyrthohom* (ובמשרתהם); cf. *AJSL.*, xxxix, 87, etc.

[6] ועמדה and ומספנתה, both in Byb. 5, l. 6, and both referring to the preceding והערפת. Cf. Lidzbarski, *Altkanaanäische Texte*, p. 14 inf.

found elsewhere in Phœnician, and in other Canaanite dialects it has a similar form.[1] From the evidence considered below it must be inferred that double indication of the plural occurs in Canaanite feminine nouns from the twelfth century on.[2]

The distribution of the forms with the 3 m.s. suffix is interesting. All the forms in ה׳[3] occur in Byb. 1, and all the forms in י׳[4] in the later inscriptions. But the inference that between Byb. 1 and Byb. 2 the termination *-ahu* was reduced to *-aw* must be discarded.[5] For a distinction must be drawn between dual and plural nouns—with which, for obvious reasons singular nouns of the *lamed yod* group are to be classed —with the 3 m.s. suffix and other singular nouns with the same suffix. All the forms in Byb. 1 can be treated as singular nouns with the 3 m.s. suffix in -(*a*)*hu*. On the other hand, the word ושנתי is indubitably plural with the 3 m.s. suffix. Not only does the context demand a plural, but before the time of the Tell el-Amarna correspondence, and perhaps after the time of the Ugaritian texts, Canaanite had in most areas, including Byblos, but excluding Jerusalem, replaced *-atu* by *-tu* in the feminine singular noun, with consequential assimilation, thus *šanatu* replaced by *šantu* > *ša*(*t*)*tu*, i.e. שת.[6] It is equally clear from the context that ימו in Byb. 5, l. 9, is plural " his days ".[7] The form must be analysed as *yāmēw*

[1] Ugaritian *w b n h* " and her sons " ; Moabite שעריה and מגדלתה (Meša' inscription, line 22), and Hebrew *-ēha*.

[2] Cf. Byb. 2, l. 5. No inferences can be drawn from the Ugaritian material. In the Meša' inscription מגדלתה probably represents *migdalōtēha* ; *yod* occurs as a *mater lectionis* in Moabite constructs, e.g. שעריה (l. 22), but is more frequently omitted.

[3] מלכה, משפטה, כשתה, אבה.

[4] ושנתי in Byb. 2, 4, 5 ; אדתו in Byb. 4 ; ימו in Byb. 5 ; וזרעו in Byb. 5.

[5] Cf. Harris, op. cit., 51, and Dunand in *Revue Biblique*, xxxix, 329.

[6] Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects*, 38. So already, if from the root ישן, כשתה in Byb. 1, l. 2. " And his year " would be ושתי (or ושתה ; we have no clear evidence how long after Byb. 1 the latter form survived).

[7] Thus ים " day " at Byblos has as its plural in S. xii–xi B.C. ימת (Byb. 2, l. 5 ; cf. Deut. xxxii, 7 ; Psalm xc, 15), but by S. V B.C. ימם (Byb. 5, l. 9), which form is found elsewhere in Phœnician, and similarly in Ugaritian (e.g. Dan'el ii, 1, 16), Moabite (ימן) and elsewhere in Hebrew.

< *yāmêhū*, with syncope of *h* between two vowels and resultant consonantalizing of the final phoneme.[1] The same analysis applies to the other instances of suffixal *waw* at Byblos. אדתו in apposition to [לבעלת גבל] in Byb. 4[2] is *pluralis majestatis*[3] and חרעו (Byb. 5, l. 15) is plural of amplification.[4] Byblos affords the only examples of the corresponding development in the verb, viz. תחוו *teḥawwēw* < *tuḥawwihu* (Byb. 1, l. 9) and יחוו (Byb. 7).[5] But in the noun the same form occurs outside of Byblos. From Megiddo some two centuries before the earliest Byblian instance we have *ba-di-u* as a gloss on *qāti*[ti]-*šu* (Tell el-Amarna 245, l. 35), representing *badēw* < *bayadayhu*[6]; from Lachish, c. 600 B.C. אנשו "his men" (*Lachish Letters*, iii, 18); and from Cyprus in 273–2 B.C. ולאשתו "and to his wives".[7]

The Canaanite dialect of Biblical Jerusalem had the same pronunciation of the 3 m.s. suffix to a noun ending in its unreduced form in *-ay*. The reduction of *-ay* to *-ē* in an open

[1] Cf. אביהו (אבה in Byb. 1, l. 2) seven times in Biblical Hebrew and אביו (later Phœnician אבי) over 150 times.

[2] On the etymology see *JAOS.*, xlvii, 239; *OLZ.*, xl (1937), 345–6.

[3] Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley, § 124 g.

[4] Ibid., § 124 c; cf. Friedrich in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, ii, 6, note. There is a close parallel in the unusual *ἐξ αἱμάτων* in Ev. Joh. 1, l. 13; cf. Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch*, i, 172.

[5] Contrast the suffixal form after a long vowel of pure origin in שתי "I set it" (Kilamuwa, line 11), כסי "it covered him", i.e. *kissāyu* or *kissāyi* for *kissāhu* (the form *kissaya* had shortened to *kissā* before the time of Kilamuwa; cf. חז and Bauer-Leander, op. cit., § 57p″), יטנאי "they will erect it" (Lidzbarski, op. cit., 52, l. 5), ישבני "we caused him to dwell" (*CIS.*, i, 3, l. 17), יברכי "let them bless him" (*CIS.*, i, 3778, l. 1).

[6] I am indebted to Professor W. F. Albright of the Johns Hopkins University for this and other suggestions. Compare the similar form in Habakkuk iii. 10, and contrast Böhl, *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe*, 27, 83.

[7] Larnax tes Lapethou 2, l. 11. The form אשת corresponds to that in Ezekiel xxiii, 44, and to Accadian *aššāti*; cf. Phœnician אש, plural אשם (Biblical Hebrew אישים three times). The reference both at Lapethos and in Ezekiel is to two women, and theoretically the forms might equally well be dual (i.e. in Ezekiel אשת הזמה or אשתי זמה); cf. Ugaritian *'a ṯ t m*, construct *'a ṯ t* (Birth 39, 64; cf. *BASOR.*, 71 (October, 1938), 37). But in Phœnician the dual is restricted to numerals and the like; cf. Gesenius, op. cit., § 88 e, g. See further *JEA.*, xxvi (June, 1940), 57 sqq.

syllable bearing the main accent of the word[1] took place before the disappearance of *h* between two vowels[2] and thus the development was *dábarayhu* > *dabaráyhu* > *dabarêhu* > *dabarêw*. The Massoretic remaniement has substituted for this the synagogue pronunciation of such words. The latter had been in vogue for some centuries before our pointed texts; the transliterations of Origen (-αυ and -αυι) and of Jerome (-*au*)[3] and the pre-Tiberian systems of punctuation[4] all agree with the Massoretic punctuation. The break in the tradition occurred between the time of the Septuagint, as represented by Codex Vaticanus, and the third Christian century.[5] A feature of the later development was the resolution of monophthongs into their (supposed) original diphthongal components, e.g. Ἰερουσαλημ > יְרוּשָׁלַיִם. Thus the contracted form of the 3 m.s. suffix to the plural was treated as *-áyw* < *-áyhu* even where the consonantal text lacked *yod* as a *mater lectionis*[6]; in this re-analysis the analogy of the same suffix to the singular and of the first singular suffix to the plural may have played a part. The older pronunciation, however, maintained itself in certain cases, particularly where syncope of the *h* had not been effected. By themselves sporadic plurals in *-êhu* would not have much evidential value, since transferred and unusual forms occur as survivals or pseudo-archaisms in almost all the pronominal suffix forms,[7] but they

[1] Cf. Bauer-Leander, op. cit., § 17 r.; Bergsträsser *Hebräische Grammatik*, i. § 17 g.; Harris, op. cit., 29 sqq., 50; Burckhardt, *Altkanaanäische Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen*, § 160.

[2] Harris, ibid., 55.

[3] Cf. Sperber in *HUCA.*, xii–xiii, 199.

[4] Examples in Kahle, *Der Masoretische Text . . . der Babylonischen Juden*, 99, etc.; Porath, *Mishnaic Hebrew . . . of the Babylonian Jews*, 93, 108, etc.

[5] This is best seen in the divergences in proper names; e.g. Ἰορδανης ירדן.

[6] Cf. Delitzsch, *Lese und Schreibfehler*, § 18 d.

[7] To those listed in Bauer-Leander, § 29 v (cf. g, l'), to all of which parallel forms in -ē(y)w can be cited from the Hebrew Bible, there should be added למינהו, correctly rendered by Targum Onqelos in Genesis i, 12, 21, 25, vi, 20,

are supported by the unreduced forms of nouns *lamed he*,[1] and also, though less directly, by analogous forms.[2] Extra-Biblical evidence is available for Jerusalem in the threefold רעו of the Siloam inscription, which clearly stands for *rē'ēw* < *rē'ēhu* < *ri'áyhu*.[3]

A number of epigraphic corollaries may be noted:—

Byb. 5, l. 10 init. Instead of the usual restorations, read לי CIS., i, 4, 90; Lidzbarski, op. cit., 8, 9, 10. לאלי is singular and אל can be used in Phœnician in the singular in apposition to a divine name masculine or feminine; cf. Harris, *Grammar*, s. vv. אל, אלם and Lidzbarski, op. cit., p. 14.

CIS., i, 123*a*, 6. דברי is singular—דִּבְרֵי or דְּבָרֵי? Cf.

vii, 14; Leviticus xi, 16, 22, 29; Deuteronomy xiv, 15, as לזנוהי, while לְמִינוֹ (Genesis i, 11) is translated לזניה and לְמִינֵהֶם (Genesis i, 21) as לזניהון. The other versions are less consistent in their renderings.

[1] E.g. שדהו. The reduced forms, as is to be expected, are made to follow the analogy of the plurals, thus—מַרְאָיו "the sight (singular) of him", Job xli, 1, but מראהו elsewhere; מַעֲשָׂיו "his conduct", I Samuel xix, 4, but מעשהו; מעלו "its ascent", Ezekiel xl, 31, 34, 37; משתיו "his drink", Daniel i, 5, 8; cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen*, § 40, l.

[2] E.g. Massoretic *'ālā(y)w* for *'ālēw*, but עָלֵימוֹ correctly from *'alayhumō* (cf. Bauer-Leander, § 25, l); Massoretic אַיּוֹ but Lachish איהו (iv, 8), both from *'ayyēhu*; ויקדשיו (Nash Papyrus, l. 16), for Massoretic ויקדשהו (cf. S. A. Cook in *PSBA.*, xxv (1903), 41; von Gall in *ZAW.*, 1903, 349; Sperber, op. cit., 172). Albright (*JBL.*, lvi, 145 sqq.) assigns Papyrus Nash to the Maccabean period.

[3] It is quite true, as Jouon (*Grammaire de l'Hébreu Biblique*, 231) remarks, that we must connect the Biblical רעהו not with the infrequent רֵעֶה "friend (of the king)"—a court title, like the Ptolemaic φιλος, but with the common רֵעַ; the latter, however, is but an abbreviated variant of the former, and the two forms are secondary differentiations of the same word *ri'ayu*, as, e.g. *'ilay* > אֶל and אֱלֵי (see G. R. Driver in *ZDMG.*, xci, 343 sqq., and König, *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, ii, 116). Cf. Bauer-Leander, § 61 d''', Gesenius, § 84*a*, i. Since רֵעֵהוּ occurs 115 times and רֵעוֹ (Jeremiah, vi, 21) but once (properly רֵעָו ?), and since both Meša' and the later Lachish ostraca would represent the 3 m.s. suffix to the shorter form by ה', there is little ground for regarding the *waw* in the Siloam רעו as vocalic.

בר <בר>:ם in 3, l. 6, and see Cooke, *Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions*, 104.

Kilamuwa, l. 8. עלי is from על and not from עלי (Byb. 1, 4); cf. *ZDMG.*, xci, 343 sqq. So עלתי in Lidzbarski, 52, l. 4, is singular or if plural has not double indication of the plural.

Ibid., l. 12. למנערי is from the congener, not of נְעוּרִים, but of the rarer and poetical נֹעַר.

CIS., i, 165, l. 5. The absence of one horn (קרני) is sufficient to diminish the priestly dues by half.

CIS., i, 3778. פני (parallel to צדא) is singular.[1]

Thus neither in Byblos nor in Jerusalem were the dialectal peculiarities in regard to the pronominal suffixes quite so pronounced as has been supposed.[2] The most striking divergence is in the treatment of the 3 m.s. suffix attached to a word not ending in *-ay* or *-e*. Whatever the pronunciation,[3] written tradition at least maintained the spelling in *he* (originally for *-ahu*), in Palestine down to the time of Jeremiah, while epigraphic Phœnician from some time after the thirteenth century represented the same termination by final *yod*. In the light of the foregoing remarks it seems improbable that in Phœnician the connecting vowel with the singular noun was *-i-*. The easiest assumption is that the connecting vowel was *-a-*, as in Hebrew. Then either the suffix developed to *-hi*, as in Aramaic and reduced the intervocalic *-h-* to a vowel-glide, thus *-ahu* > *-ahi* > *-ayi* > *-ay* > *-ē*; or else the *h* for some other undetermined reason changed its character, at the same time dissimilating from the adjacent vowels, thus *-ahu* > *-ayu* > *-ay* > *-ē*.[4] Such an account of the form is admittedly complicated, as well as tentative, but no simple account can conform to the varied body of evidence.

[1] So perhaps *p n h* (Aliyan Ba'al, A ii, 8) beside *p n t h* (Aliyan Ba'al, v, 17). Mr. D. M. L. Urie draws my attention to Ugaritian *l p n w h* ('Anat, 6), with which may be compared South Arabian *p n w t*.

[2] Cf. Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects*, 97, n. 6.

[3] Cf. Torczyner, *The Lachish Letters*, 40, 56.

[4] Cf. Harris, *Grammar*, 48 sqq.; Rosenthal in *Orientalia*, vii, 171.

870.

The Date of the Ṭāq i Kisrā.

By OTTO KURZ

THE Ṭāq i Kisrā is the most famous monument of Sasanian architecture, but opinions as to its date and builder differ widely. The traditional name "Arch of Khosrau" might as well refer to the first as to the second Khosrau, and perhaps not even that, as in Arabic Kisrā is used as a general designation for the Sasanian rulers. Mohammedan writers used to regard the façade of the Ṭāq i Kisrā as one of the wonders of the world, but the historical facts were very soon obscured by legends. Eventually no less than four Sasanian rulers were quoted as its builders: Shapur I (241–273), Shapur II (310–379), Khosrau I Anushirvan (531–579) and Khosrau II Parvez (590–628).

There is a passage from Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī[1] to which attention was drawn by Ernst Herzfeld. Ḥamza refers to a Persian book translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa'[2] in which it is said that the Īwān still standing at Ctesiphon was built by Shapur I. Ḥamza added: "This cannot be correct, as the high priest 'Umaid ibn Ašuhast[3] assured me that palace was destroyed by al-Manṣūr (A.D. 754–755), and what is called Īwān to-day was built by Khosrau II Parvez."

As there is no inscription on the monument and no reference to it in pre-Islamic Persian literature, this early divergence of opinions still divides the scholars of our day. E. Herzfeld, who wrote the best description of the monument,[4] gave

[1] Quoted in *Yāqūt*, i, 425, 20; translated in M. Streck *Die alte Landschaft, Babylonien nach den arabischen Geographen*, 1901, ii, p. 256.

[2] The well-known translator of the *Kalila wa Dimna* and other Persian works (eighth century). F. Gabrieli, "L'opera di Ibn al-Muqaffa'," in *Rivista degli studi orientali*, xiii, 1931–2, p. 207, n. 1.

[3] F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 1895, p. 333.

[4] F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigris-Gebiet*, 1911, vol. ii, pp. 60 ff.; vol. iii, pl. xxxix–xliv; vol. iv, pl. cxxiv–cxxvii. The same authors, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 1910, p. 129. E. Herzfeld, *Archæological history of Iran*, 1935, p. 94 f.

preference to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and thought Ḥamza's comment to be of no worth. Consequently he adheres to the early date. F. Sarre,[1] M. Streck,[2] and E. Diez[3] are among those who follow his example by dating the Ṭāq i Kisrā between A.D. 241 and 273, in the time of Shapur I. Those scholars who are in favour of the sixth century prefer it for stylistic reasons. K. M. Swoboda in his book on antique palace architecture and its survival in the Middle Ages[4] pronounced himself in favour of Khosrau II. The late date was also defended by F. Wachsmuth[5] and O. Reuther[6] with arguments taken from the architectural style and the technique of construction. Moreover, as F. Wachsmuth has pointed out, the pavement of the Ṭāq i Kisrā lies on the same level as buildings of the sixth and seventh century in its neighbourhood a strong argument against Herzfeld's dating.

There exists, however, a piece of more circumstantial evidence by which the date of the " Arch of Khosrau " can be established. The Byzantine historian Theophylaktos Simokatta expressed himself on the subject in the first half of the seventh century. As his work is one of our principal sources for the history of Persia, the passage referring to the palace of Khosrau is by no means unknown, and has been quoted more than once as a testimony to the art relations between Byzantium and Persia.[7] But it has not yet been

[1] F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, 1922, p. 36, pl. 68, 69.

[2] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, iii (1936), p. 80.

[3] *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, 1915, p. xiii.

[4] K. M. Swoboda, *Römische und romanische Paläste*, 1924, p. 180.

[5] *Der Raum*, vol. i, 1929, p. vi, 149 ff. ; *Die Ausgrabungen der zweiten Ctesiphon-Expedition* (Winter, 1931–2), Berlin, 1933, p. 33.

[6] The German excavations at Ctesiphon, in *Antiquity*, iii, 1929, p. 447. The same, in *Survey of Persian Art*, ed. A. U. Pope and Ph. Ackerman, 1938, vol. i, p. 515 ff.

[7] J. Strzygowski in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xx, p. 276. Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise*, ii, p. 48, n. 4. E. Blochet, *Les peintures des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1914–1920, p. 101. Blochet gave the right date, but he confused the " White Palace " and the Ṭāq i Kisrā. On the " White Palace " see G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1930, p. 34.

considered as a reference valuable for the dating of the Ṭāq i Kisrā. The passage from Theophylaktos runs (Hist., v, 6):

Ἡ δὲ Κτεσιφῶν μέγιστα βασίλεια τῇ Περσίδι καθέστηκεν. Λέγεται δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα λίθον Ἑλληνικὴν Χοσρόῃ τῷ Καβάδου παρέχεσθαι τούς τε περὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν δεινοὺς τέκτονάς τε ὀροφῶν ἀγχίνους, καὶ βασίλεια δείμασθαι τῷ Χοσρόῃ τέχνῃ Ῥωμαϊκῇ οὐ πόρρω τῆς Κτεσιφῶντος τὴν ἵδρυσιν ἔχοντα.

"Ctesiphon is the biggest of the royal residences in Persia. It is said that the emperor Justinian sent Greek stone as well as architects, who were experts in building and experienced in vaulting, to Chosroes, the son of Kavāt. And they built the royal palace not far from Ctesiphon in the Byzantine manner."

There seems to be no reason to doubt the reliability of this report. Theophylaktos' work is based on good sources, and the time in which he wrote was not too far removed from the events narrated. Moreover his version is corroborated by other arguments.

The historical data fit perfectly with Theophylaktos' account. Khosrau I conquered Antioch in 540. He desired to transfer the glory of this city to his capital Ctesiphon. He added a new quarter to Ctesiphon to which he transplanted the population of Antioch, calling it "Khosrau's Antioch" or "New-Antioch".[1] He had artisans from the Roman province brought to the capital to adorn it in classical style.[2] Marble columns and mosaic cubes were brought from Syria.[3] A hippodrome and baths were built, and remains of the

[1] Procopius, *B.P.*, ii, 14, 1: *Ἀντιόχεια ἡ Χοσρόου*. In Arabic: Al-Rūmiyyā. For the various names see E. Honigmann in *Pauly-Wissowa R.E.*, Supplementband iv, col. 1115, and A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 1936, p. 381.

[2] Procopius, *B.P.*, ii, 14, 2.

[3] *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj*, trad. E. A. W. Budge, 1932, i, p. 74. Macoudi, *Les prairies d'or*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard, 1863, vol. ii, p. 199.

latter have been identified among the ruins near the Ṭāq i Kisrā.[1]

As we have seen from the example quoted at the beginning of this article, later Persian tradition on the subject is apt to be somewhat confused and contradictory and has to be accepted with reserve. It is just possible that the reference made by Yaqūt,[2] that several kings built the Iwan together, is a faint echo of the help lent to Khosrau I by Justinian. Firdawsi narrates in the Shah-nama how the palace was built by a Greek architect.[3] Without the corroboration of the more reliable source this tale would not amount to much proof as the achievements of Greek and Chinese artists are almost proverbial in Persian literature. Incidentally Firdawsi lets the palace be built by Khosrau II. The Mujmal al-tawārikh, a dry compilation of earlier chronicles (A.D. 1126) contains, however, an account of the matter which may be taken more seriously[4]: "He (Khosrau Anushirvan) built the palace of al-Madā'in which is still standing. Some say that it was Khosrau Parvez who built it, but the first version is correct." We find this tradition again in the fourteenth century, when Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī (A.D. 1340) affirms that "Khosrau Anushirvan the Just constructed the Hall of the Chosroes".[5]

Such few things as we know about the interior decoration of the Ṭāq i Kisrā point clearly to Khosrau I, and those who adhere to the early date had to resort to the assumption that an old palace was rebuilt by Khosrau I. But everything points to Khosrau I as the builder. The mosaics represented

[1] Procopius, *B.P.*, ii, 14, 1. On the remains of the Thermae see J. H. Schmidt, *L'expédition de Ctésiphon en 1931–1932*, in *Syria*, xv, 1934, p. 1.

[2] M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, 1901, ii, p. 255.

[3] *The Shāhnāma of Firdausi.* Done into English by A. G. Warner and E. Warner, vol. viii, 1923, p. 400 ff.

[4] *Journal Asiatique*, 3, s., xiv, 1842, pp. 122, 141. *Cf.* C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, 1935, ii, 2, p. 67.

[5] G. Le Strange, *The geographical part of the Nuzhatu-'l Qulūb*, 1919, p. 51.

the Siege of Antioch [1] which shows beyond doubt that the palace was a monument of his victory, the royal residence of the conquerer of the Old- and founder of the New-Antioch. The stucco decorations excavated in the palace have been allocated to the sixth century.[2] A few scanty remains of marble slabs are all that has been left from the "Greek stone" sent by Justinian to his royal colleague.[3]

So we may assume that the Ṭāq i Kisrā was built under Khosrau I. A.D. 540, the year of the conquest of Antioch, may be regarded as *terminus post quem*, but it seems most likely that its erection was begun a few years later during one of the truces interrupting the war between Persia and Byzantium; at any rate before 565, the date of the death of Justinian.

[1] *Qazwīnī*, ii, 304, 11; translated by M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, 1901, ii, p. 257. Qazwīnī mentions as his source Abū 'Ubāda al-Buḥturī (d. 897). A few mosaic cubes are all that survived the destruction; *cf.* O. Reuther in *Antiquity*, iii, 1929, p. 443, and Sarre-Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, ii, p. 70.

[2] E. Herzfeld, in *ZDMG*, lxxx, 1926, p. 226.

[3] Sarre-Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, ii, p. 69, n. 3. O. Reuther, *Die Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Ktesiphon-Expedition im Winter 1928/29*, p. 22.

The Beauty of Indian Sculpture

BY DORA GORDINE (Hon. Mrs. RICHARD HARE)

Based on a lecture delivered at the Warburg Institute under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society and in connection with the exhibition of Photographs of Indian sculpture arranged by Dr. Stella Kramrisch.

The Director (Sir Richard Winstedt) introduced the lecturer as a most distinguished modern sculptor peculiarly fitted by the quality of her own work to assess the merits of the great sculpture of India.

MY appreciation of Indian sculpture is not that of an art historian but of a living sculptor. I shall not therefore attempt to say anything about historical developments or to compare and criticize the characteristics of different periods, but I shall concentrate instead on trying to show some of the great and timeless qualities of Asiatic sculpture which make it as alive and significant for us to-day as it was to its unknown creators.

There is an unhappy tendency to regard an unfamiliar civilization as suitable rather for scholarly dissection by a small circle of experts than for joyful appreciation by all lovers of beauty. If we had been brought up with photographs from Sanchi and Ajanta instead of photographs and poor casts from the Acropolis or the Vatican collection, I am sure we should not feel sculpture to be cold and academic. It is not remoteness in time or space but unfamiliarity with great sculpture which has chiefly hindered our appreciation. The art of to-day has more to learn from the sculpture of India and China than from that of Greece and Rome. For what I believe, and what I shall try to indicate, is that pure sculpture, unlike painting, reached a degree of perfection in Asia which it hardly ever achieved in Europe, except perhaps for a certain period in Greece. By pure sculpture

I mean sculpture which is primarily neither realistic nor decorative, but which reveals to the fullest extent the beauties of form and movement latent in the three dimensions in which sculpture exists. It is true that Indian sculpture illustrates a multitude of Hindu and Buddhist legends, but I am not concerned with these characteristics here except in so far as from the artistic point of view I think they constitute the defects rather than the qualities of Indian sculpture; for in overloading the form with symbols and decorations they often mar its unity. But the greatest Indian sculptors though they were bound to accept a strictly traditional set of religious symbols and rules were certainly not interested in a meticulous exactitude in copying nature. Their works bear witness that they delighted above all in the inspiring beauty of the human form. Here they could let themselves go and give full rein to their creative imagination. Greek sculptors sought to standardize beauty in one cold ideal type, medieval Christians to impress the mind by suppressing the body, but in Indian sculpture there is an ease, a natural warmth, an abundance of life and love, which does not try to force the mind to any intellectual conclusions.

The constant sight of beautiful naked bodies, standing in natural poses or moving to the rhythms of a dance, must have made such an interpretation of the human form easier for Indians than it is for us. Nor must we forget that the deep sense of visual beauty which existed in India expressed itself also in an exuberant architecture, which was the background of almost all its sculpture. In great periods of art sculpture and architecture have always been closely allied. Sculpture did not then have to struggle for a setting but found its natural and indispensable place in the architecture of the age.

Even photographs can show us how the rich voluptuous Indian bodies inspired artists to create the utmost plastic beauty of which sculpture is capable—sculpture which is in many examples at once static and dynamic. I speak here

particularly of the female figures. The full round breasts like fruit, the slender wasp-like waists, the firm magnificent arms and legs, like sensitive columns, the sideward thrust of the hips, reveal an ideal of feminine beauty and grace which may be far from the European ideal of to-day, but which was certainly the basis of a great artistic inspiration.

I will first take some examples from the marvellous Hindu sculpture done at Khajuraho about A.D. 1000. A Maithuna couple with attendants (Pl. I) shows an extraordinary feeling for grouping a number of figures together in a single composition. The subject is a difficult one to render satisfactorily in sculpture. There is passion in the central group, but the sculptor has treated it with restraint and in a purely sculptural way. The two heads, which are beautifully modelled, grow together in a circular movement. The superbly expressive back of the woman is bent like a bow, tense and vibrating with sensitive life, yet it does not lose for a moment the static serene quality of sculpture. There is also such a high degree of interpretation in the modelling that one feels distinctly the different texture of different parts of the body; the soft texture of the belly of the figure on the right contrasts with the firm taut texture of the behind of the lady in the centre. It is interesting to compare for a moment the treatment of the central figures of this Maithuna couple representing the union of man and woman with the treatment of a similar subject in a conventional European style of sculpture. Take, for instance, Canova's Cupid and Psyche: in this group the figures, instead of being conceived with the purity of form and unity of a piece of architecture, might just as well be separate and are merely stuck together; it is sugary and sentimental in spirit, whereas the Hindu group has a genuine depth of feeling.

At Khajuraho also, on the top of the Dhuladeo temple, there is a figure representing a spirit of the air which is a remarkable example of architectural sculpture. It is composed as a solid square, but the airspace between the outspread

legs is treated as a form in itself. The danger of top-heaviness is avoided by the addition of a sculptural drapery which underlines the monumental base. A four-armed flying figure on the same temple shows wonderful balance in a complicated composition. Although the figure is short and stumpy, it is tense and architectural and obviously designed to be seen from below. The four arms, far from appearing artificial, are so perfectly composed that they are constructive continuations of the body. Then there is a fascinating sculpture of a mouse (the Vahana of Ganesha) guarding a bowl of sweetmeats, of which his master was fond. Usually a mouse would be treated in sculpture as a small finicking creature, but this one is treated as generously as a mountain, and one feels the greatest respect for it. Though massive it is not clumsy, and it is interesting to see how ingeniously the whole weight of the body is made to fall on the hind legs. Also the expression of greed on the mouse's face is perfectly rendered. Another group from Khajuraho, representing a supernatural lion with a warrior crouching beneath his paw, is remarkable for the way in which the two figures are seen as part of a single column; nothing projects beyond the outline of this form, and the curved movement of the warrior's back is a direct continuation of the movement of the lion's back above him.

After this glimpse of the architectural compositions which are so great a feature of Hindu sculpture I think we should consider in detail the qualities of a few single heads and figures. Take the head of a divinity at Khajuraho (Pl. II) which has a great static quality and conveys a deep sense of peace and inner tranquillity. The artist has emphasized particularly the beauty of form and expression in the eyes, mouth, and chin, and in order to bring out these features he has modelled the rest of the head with extreme reserve and ascetic severity. This head, though in fact very small, is so grandly conceived that one would think it was over life-size. Very different is the head of a tree goddess from Rajputana (Pl. III). In richness and style of decoration it reminds one of European

baroque. But this piece of sculpture, though at first it looks overloaded, avoids being clumsy by the skilful way in which air-spaces are left between the head and the branches of fruit on either side to give lightness and grace to the figure. The body itself is treated like the trunk of a tree, and the head and breasts like ripe fruit. There is a perfect rhythm in the swaying movement.

One of the masterpieces of Hindu sculpture is a female figure on the wall of a temple at Khajuraho (Pl. IV). It is at once dynamic and static, gentle and strong. Generous forms are modelled with the highest sensitiveness. The magnificent right arm is seen like a round column, but there is a gentle undulation under the armpit and a dimple on the shoulder. The vigorous swing of the back is perfectly expressed but modelled with great simplicity. Stability is given to the figure by deliberately emphasizing with heavy jewellery the roundness of the ankles. The face is as perfectly modelled as the body: note the heavy eyelids under the arched eyebrows, and the clearly defined downward glance, without any realistic indication of the pupil of the eye. One feels that the sculptor has caught this figure in the middle of a movement of exquisite rhythm.

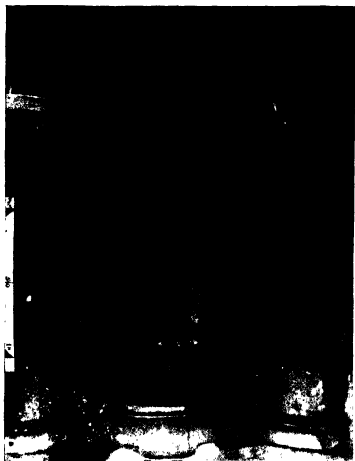
A squatting figure of a warrior from Jodhpur (Pl. V) is an interesting masculine counterpart of the delightful figure we have just been considering. It has intense vigour and great compactness. The whole back is treated as one big sculptural form and not a single black shadow interrupts its rhythm. The croup was regarded in India as one of the most beautiful parts of the human body, particularly for sculpture. In this figure it occupies a most important place. It is powerful, sensitive, and expressive, and well balanced both in form and rhythm with the energetic head and shoulders of the figure. The torso from Sanchi (Pl. VI) in the Victoria and Albert Museum is more severe in conception than either of the preceding figures. Although broken the fragment speaks for itself, and the simple nobility of the figure is unimpaired.

The modelling of the torso is most delicate and restrained. The decorations on the body are used with the greatest skill; they are so slimly modelled that they bring out the tenderness of the flesh, and the drapery round the shoulder emphasizes the sideward movement of the body.

I will now return to an example of a figure not isolated but in an architectural setting, for I must emphasize that the perfect marriage between architecture and sculpture was one of the greatest achievements of Indian art. This stone figure of a river goddess at Ellora (Pl. VII) is a superb illustration of what I am trying to explain. The figure grows with the flexible stability of a water lily out of the architectural composition of which it forms the centre. While the upper part of the body has the gentle swaying grace of a flower, from the waist downwards it has the strength and stability of a thick supporting stem. The rhythm of the arms and hips corresponds to the curves of the arch above the goddess. The proportions are equally remarkable, and the figure appears voluminous because while the columns and arch immediately surrounding it are thin, a little further removed are two massive pillars which make a solid framework for the whole composition.

It has been impossible in this brief review to give more than the vaguest outline of the splendours of Hindu sculpture, but I think you will agree that these masterpieces, whether they are passionate or ascetic in spirit, whether they represent mice or men, have certain qualities in common. First, I should say, they all show a great generosity of conception, a strength and nobility which impart a monumental grandeur even to works that are quite small in actual dimensions. In addition, and what is more difficult to describe, they all show an unerring sense of the natural laws of pure sculpture; formalized and interpreted as they are by the artists' training and imagination, these sculptures never fall into either of the fatal extremes of abstract stylization or of photographic realism.

A consolation they bring to us to-day is that since sculpture was once capable of achieving so much, its rebirth in our own age is evidently within the bounds of possibility. The negation of beauty from which we are suffering now may teach us to value it more in the future, and when our bombed cities are rebuilt it is not too much to hope that the innate alliance of fine architecture and beautiful sculpture which existed in some of the ancient civilizations may come to life again in our time.

(Victoria and Albert Museum

[*Musée Guimet*

OBITUARY NOTICE

Edward Denison Ross, 1871–1940

To sum up the life work of Sir Denison Ross in the brief compass of an obituary notice calls for an unusual effort of compression. Certainly, no British Orientalist of our days was more widely known, both in this country and abroad. But he was a great deal more than an Orientalist. He was a man of special gifts who was called to an important task, and who succeeded in it because of qualities which not only had little to do with Oriental scholarship but to some extent detracted from his reputation as an Orientalist.

Yet he was devoted to scholarship of every sort and in every place, provided only that it was alive. Dry-as-dust pedantry he detested, and in reaction against it he sometimes went to the other extreme. Naturally inclined to wear his learning lightly, he cultivated a playfulness which was frowned upon by the severe and gave rise to not a few misunderstandings. With all that, his range of genuine knowledge was so immense as often to surprise even those who knew him most intimately, and when he threw off his inhibitions his freshness of mind and the zest of his conversation were a perpetual stimulant. He was quick to see through all forms of learned pretentiousness and humbug. Though in everyday matters his judgment was easily swayed, in scholarship he was inflexible. His own weakness was not superficiality, but a difficulty in organizing his knowledge and bringing it to bear systematically on the subject which he had in hand.

Ross's originality and many-sidedness were no doubt nourished in his early *wanderjahre*, which carried him from Lisbon to Samarkand. At one time he spent six months in Florence as an apprentice architect. But his imagination was fired by Turki and Persian, and he sought out all the great masters of those languages. Those whose influence he most often acknowledged in after years were E. J. W. Gibb, Charles Schefer at Paris, Baron Rosen at St. Petersburg,

and Nöldeke (under whom he studied for the Ph.D. of Strasbourg). The fruits of this early period were two works in which the medieval history of Central Asia were vividly portrayed, the translation of the *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī* and the historical synopsis contained in *The Heart of Asia*.

The succeeding years spent in India (1901–1914) added to his repertory of languages—Tibetan being his chief interest at this time—and the tale of his publications. It was during this period too that he acquired the stores of bibliographical information which were afterwards to prove invaluable in building up the library of the School of Oriental Studies, and set on foot the enterprise which most worthily commemorates his work for Oriental education in India, the catalogue of the vast Khuda Bukhsh Library at Bankipore.

After two years in the Print Room at the British Museum, his great opportunity came with his appointment at the end of 1916 to the Directorship of the newly-founded School of Oriental Studies. From the first he was determined to make it a national centre of Orientalist learning, and spared no pains to recruit scholars of international reputation to its staff. In spite of constant financial stringency, in spite of scepticism and cross-currents both in the councils of the University and on his own Governing Body (though he always acknowledged with gratitude the sympathy and help received from many members of both), "Ross's School", as it was generally called, was within a very few years furnished with chairs and readerships in all the most important branches of oriental languages and history and with an extensive library. Although he had a natural distaste for administrative duties, he shouldered for many years the whole burden of this organization. He took a personal interest in the studies and difficulties of almost every student, and to them, as to the members of his staff, his door was always open. His tact and humour turned many an awkward corner, and it was mainly due to his deep humanity that the separate departments in the School were welded into a corporate institution.

But all this exacted a heavy toll, and even his freshness and resilience could scarcely have held out had it not been for the relaxation that he found in social life and an occasional fishing holiday. His geniality and broad sympathies, and a wit which seemed to be equally ready in all of the many languages he spoke, made him a familiar and welcome figure in many circles. But his main recreation was to sit down with his books and take up some half-done study or some new problem. Somehow or other he found time to publish a series of Arabic, Persian, and Turki texts and several monographs on subjects related to Persia. Those who criticized the deficiencies of some of his later work forgot that it was done in the rare intervals of an inexpressibly wearing life, when most other men would have been glad to let things slide. Even on his hurried journeys in and across Europe he was always accompanied by two or three notebooks, a Koran, or some other text, to produce in due course an article, always original, and sometimes of far greater importance than its bulk seemed to suggest.

It is no disparagement of the Director's own work, however, to say that his greatest service to scholarship lay in the encouragement and inspiration which he gave without stint to all who came within his range. There must be many, indeed, who, like the present writer, owe to him more than they can ever express. And it was characteristic of him that he was always eager to make scholarship fruitful in the widest sense. It was with this end in view that he established the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, edited the *Treasure House of Eastern Story*, planned with the late Dr. Eileen Power the fascinating series of Broadway Travellers, contributed prefaces to countless monographs, and persuaded publishers to accept them, not to speak of many other little-known ways in which he lent his influence to further interest in and knowledge of the peoples and civilizations of the East. To this and to kindred Societies he gave generously of his time and his energies, and in awarding him our Triennial Gold

Medal in 1938, we in this Society showed a just appreciation of his outstanding services to Oriental scholarship.

For so active a man, his retirement from the Directorship of the School in 1937 was a hard wrench, and he found it difficult to settle down to a life of comparative freedom. It was therefore with genuine enthusiasm that he accepted a post in the British Embassy at Istanbul in December, 1939. The death of Lady Ross there in the following spring was a blow from which he never recovered. But perhaps he would have wished no better resting-place than amongst the Turks, whose language and culture had been his first and remained his favourite study.

H. A. R. GIBB.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

THE ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTH ARABIA. Being a translation with notes, of the eighth book of al-Hamdâni's al-Iklīl. By NABIH AMIN FARIS. Princeton Oriental Texts, Vol. III. 9 × 6, pp. 119. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938.

It is now many years since D. H. Müller published, in the *Sitzungsberichte der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* (vols. 94, 97), some selections, with German translation, from the 8th book of the Iklīl; so that a complete translation into a European language may be considered to have been overdue. On this score the present publication is to be warmly welcomed. The rendering reads well and pleasantly, and the translator has further made a spirited effort at turning the verse passages into English verse. Footnotes contain, besides various explanatory matter, a number of textual variations including the readings of a hitherto unutilized MS. in the Barūdi collection at Princeton.

From the point of view of pure scholarship, however, the rendering must be used with caution. In his introduction the translator announces that he has omitted " all astrological drivel ". In the first place it would have been desirable that dots or a like indication should have been inserted in the text to mark such omissions, which has not been done; e.g. p. 9, lines 5–6 of Karmali's (more familiarly known as Père Anastase, the Carmelite) edition there has been omitted فمن اجل ذلك . . . المستقيم (" *The reason is that the trine of this region is adjacent to the sun and that the zenith immediately above it lies between these two* "); *p. 16, lines* 2–3 of Karmali, صادف في ذلك فساداً من الزهرة ("encounters at the same time an unpropitious influence from Venus ").

But it is to be regretted that Faris has not always followed his own precept, for in many places he has attempted a rendering of the astrological passages, sometimes with unhappy results. As a matter of fact, although the interpretations of astrology may be fanciful, it is founded on the facts of astronomy, and an elementary knowledge of the latter science should suffice to produce a reasonable translation.

I have noted the following points. On p. 10, lines 18–19 of the present volume, the reading of Karmali باكر الحضيض may have been adopted on the principle of *praestat lectio difficilior*; but it seems to me to defy translation, for what "the spheres of the perigee" could mean I cannot imagine. Faris has simply omitted the difficult word اكر in his translation "Venus . . . dominates the horoscope at the perigee". For a reasonable rendering it seems to me that one must adopt Müller's reading باكثر الحصص "in den meisten Theilen".

On p. 11, line 2, Hamdani says لسامتة الدبران لهم "because Aldebaran is at the zenith in regard to *them* (i.e. the people of San'a)". Faris translates "Aldebaran forms *its* zenith", which reads rather awkwardly.

On p. 12, last two lines, اذا نحس بالزهرة is not "if Saturn should overshadow Mars", as Faris renders it, but "if it [i.e. *Taurus*] should be rendered inauspicious by Venus".

These astrological points, however, might perhaps fairly be considered minutiae. There are also some slips in the translation in other points unconnected with those technicalities. For instance, on p. 11, lines 24–5, in the paragraph dealing with the temperateness of the climate of San'a, it is obviously absurd to foist on Hamdani the ridiculous statement that "In San'a no roofed houses are known", specially since Karmali has provided a footnote indicating the proper meaning, namely "in San'a no sleeping-shelters [for use in very hot weather] are erected *on* roofs" (لا يعرف بها مبيت بسطح).

Somewhat more complicated is the passage just before this: ويدخل الرجل الى منزله بحزيران وقد حـ ه بدنه وتعب فيفتح باب خلوته ويكشف ستره ويدخل فى فراشه فيبرد ثم يتأدى الى بدنه من برد الصفة [so Karmali, Müller القصة] وبرد هواء البيت حتى ربما يدثر وان لم يدثر وانكشف لم يخش ذباباً الخ. The correct rendering, however, is surely more or less that given by Müller; whereas Faris has confused the thought sequence. Nor does his suggested emendation برد القصر seem an improvement on Karmali's برد الصفة "coolness of the stone bench". I am inclined to render the passage as follows: A man may enter his house in June, hot and tired in body, and open the door of his room and throw back his shutter and lie down on his bed and cool himself. He will then be restored to bodily comfort by reason of the coolness of the stone bench [or, with Müller, the coolness caused by the plaster (of the walls); but this seems less attractive], and the coolness of the air inside the house, to such an extent that he will often cover himself with a blanket. Nevertheless, if he does not do so, but lies uncovered, he need fear no flies, etc.

On p. 13, line 13, the passage beginning وعرضها seems not to have been understood by Müller, and his text makes nonsense of it. Unfortunately, Faris in his translation has followed Müller's text instead of that of Karmali, which is perfectly sound and intelligible: وعرضها وهو ارتفاع القطب عنها ١٤ درجة وارتفاع نصف نهار راس الحمل عليها ٧٥ درجة و نصف The proper rendering is, "its [i.e. of San'a] latitude, that is to say the angle of elevation of the celestial pole to it, is 14°; and the angle of elevation of the midday sun at the vernal equinox is 75° 30′." Of course, these two angles *ought* to add up to 90°, but the slight discrepancy of 30′ is possibly to be explained by Hamdani having taken the two statements from

two different sources, each of which might be founded on slightly defective observation.

In the old South Arabian inscription on p. 73 there is no doubt that رقشان RQSHN should be emended to رفشان RFSHN. For the inscriptional references to the well-known king 'WSLT RFSN, see G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, i, 203; ii, 125. But the correct reading of the rest of the inscriptional text is very doubtful. Faris gives the reconstruction suggested by Müller (Südarabische Studien, *Sitzb. d. K. Akad. Wiss. Wien*, 86, p. 132). The inscription seems, however, to be a duplicate of one quoted in the 10th book of the *Iklil* (*op. cit.*, p. 125), which is reconstructed differently from this in *Corpus Inscr. Sem.*, IV, no. 305.

A. F. L. BEESTON.

B. 194.

THE HITTITE RITUAL OF TUNNAWI. Interpreted by A. GOETZE and E. H. STURTEVANT. American Oriental Series, Vol. XIV. 10 × 7, pp. xii + 129. New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1938.

"Magical" practices are the natural expression of a pre-rational mentality. The ideas which they embody arise from the simplest forms of thought, and the belief in their efficacy remains unchallenged so long as the significance of negative as well as positive results is not appreciated. It would, therefore, be surprising if the belief in magic was not as much a part of the mental make-up of the settled population in Anatolia during the second millennium B.C. as we know it to have been in Babylonia and Assyria.

The "ritual of Tunnawi" is, in fact, as the authors of this edition state, a typical example of "sympathetic magic". Its purpose is the restoration to health of a man or woman who is suffering from an impairment of the sexual—or, indeed, of any other—functions. The treatment consists in a

series of charms designed to remove the disease from the patient, to protect him (or her) from a recurrence of the trouble, and to restore the impaired functions.

Removal of the disease is accomplished by analogical methods: the patient is washed and combed, he is tied up in wool, his ears are stuffed with wool, he puts on various garments, and all these are afterwards taken off. In two instances the removal is effected by the proximity of an object, the name of which resembles a particular word for "remove"[1]—an extreme case of the belief in causation by mere similarity of ideas.

In the matter of protection from future attacks three trains of thought can be traced. First, the evil is destroyed by the "scapegoat" method; a number of animals, figures, and other objects are brought into contact with the patient, the evil is transferred to them by means of a charm alluding to some magical quality giving them an affinity with it (*e.g.* blackness), and they are then either destroyed or thrown into the river. Secondly, the cause of the disease is attacked in the charm against any sorcerer who may have cast a spell upon the patient; the sorcerers are likewise destroyed by the analogical use of figures. Thirdly, the evil is prevented from following the patient by making him pass through model gates, which act as a barrier to it.

Finally the sexual functions are restored by contact with a fertile cow and a tree covered with fruit.

There is nothing very remarkable about these performances. They belong essentially to the common stock of magic all the world over. They have close parallels in Accadian literature; even the punning use of articles of similar name may be compared with *Maqlu*, v, 30 ff.

[1] *TIYADU* (a plant, probably asafoetida) with the verb *tiyanešk-* (§ 14), and *GIŠšarra-* with the verb *šarrešk-* (§ 25). Götze is surely right in suggesting this interpretation of these two paragraphs; but if so, no conclusion can be drawn from the context as to the nature of the objects in question, and the meaning "brush" for *GIŠšarra-* is entirely problematical.

But the text, nevertheless, illustrates certain important differences between the Hittite and Accadian magical literature. The magical texts of Boğazköy are not, as in Babylonia, the learned products of temple schools, served by an organized class of priests, but have more the character of a national collection. They almost invariably open with the formula "Thus (speaks) NN, the . . . (here 'Tunnawi the "Old Woman"'): if . . . (describing the trouble to be remedied), this is how I proceed". In their choice of practitioners the rulers of Ḫattusas seem to have been entirely free from prejudice, and the authors of such rituals are almost as various as the rituals themselves. Natives of Kizzuwadna and Arzawa are in a majority; Ḫapalla (an Arzawan province), Lallupiya, and Ankulluwa are also represented. The "Old Woman" is in magic, as in oracle, the exponent of a purely superficial procedure. All male practitioners, whether *pātili*-priest, seer (AZU), "spearman," or of unspecified profession, are more or less concerned with religious motives. And here we find a remarkable fact. The evil is never personified as a malignant or hostile agency; there is no hint of the ever-present terror of demons, which gives the rituals of Mesopotamia their exorcistic character. The Old Woman treats disease as *paprātar* "uncleanness", an inanimate "substance",[1] which may have issued from the Underworld (this is the significance of the invocation of the MAḪ and Gulšeš genii and of the Sun-god in the present text), but can only have done so through the spell of a sorcerer, the only malignant agency contemplated by her. The apotropaic text *KBo.* IV 2, the author of which is described as an augur, is designed to protect the palace simply against *kallar uddar* "the Evil Thing". The Gods are regarded by all authors as essentially benevolent beings; their anger, in so far as it is the cause of human troubles, is never malevolent or capricious, but is aroused either by neglect or transgression on the part

[1] See Götze, *Kleinasien*, p. 142.

of the sufferer, or, as in this text, by the calumny of the sorcerer.[1] Is this a reflection of Hittite government?

The collaboration of two scholars of such eminence as Götze and Sturtevant has resulted of course in a reliable edition of the text. There is, however, one curious slip. In the phrase in ii 60 translated "the wickedness of mankind", the text has, in fact, not *ŠA* DUMU.LÚ.GÀL.LU "of mankind" (as might have been expected), but DUMU-*la-an-na-aš* "of childhood". The meaning of *ḫuipayat-* is unknown. What "*ḫuipayat-* of childhood" can be in this context I am unable to suggest.

The commentary is rich in discussions of words and phrases which contribute materially to our knowledge of the Hittite language. The following new meanings may be mentioned: *wilanaš* = IM "clay"; *ḫappešar* = $^{\text{UZU}}$ÚR "limb, joint"[2]; *leši* = $^{\text{UZU}}$NÍG.GIG "liver"; *mumiya-* is a bye-form of *mauš-* "fall"; *muta(i)-* = "remove"; *gulš-* = "watch" (against Forrer, who would read GUL-*ašš-* "stamp"); *purut* = "mud"; *ḫaḫḫal* = "trunk"; *šukšukaš* = "fetter, shackle". Two well-known verbs, *ḫalzai-* "call" and *mauš-* "fall", are given an exhaustive lexicographical treatment.

A special feature of Götze's editions is his elucidation of difficult sections of the vocabularies, and the present work does not disappoint us in this respect. There are reconstructions of *KBo.* I 42 iii 25–9 (p. 80), and iv 44–50 (p. 92), of *KUB.* III 93 (p. 81) and 110 (pp. 59–61). In the last instance Götze's reconstruction is open to doubt, since the assumption that all these five sections are concerned with the sign ŠI, is not borne out by the only two lines where the Sumerian column is legible, namely lines 20–21.

[1] What exactly the sorcerer is thought to have done is not entirely clear from § 18. But *KUB* XVII 28, ii 33 ff. throws some light on this point: "If against a man his friend lifts his tongue, or addresses the gods (about) him"; and *ibid.* 40: "Whosoever has lifted his tongue [against me ?] before the gods, whosoever has addressed the gods behind my back..."

[2] But is not $^{\text{UZU}}$ÚR-*i-* = "sexual part", another word ?

Another argument which fails to convince is that concerning *šarra-*, a verb which has only recently been treated in some detail by Sommer.[1] It is surely contrary to the necessities of language that the same expression, "break off x," should be capable of meaning both "break off x from something else" and "break off part of (*i.e.* disable) x". The difficulty is only concealed by the alleged original meaning "break off, split off, separate (part of a thing from its main body)". According to Götze the phrase in i 6 rendered "the sexual parts are disabled" might also mean "the sexual parts are broken off"! Sommer's translation "tear" is more satisfactory, but this is already represented by *iškalla-*. The last word has not been said on this difficult verb. Nevertheless, Götze has undoubtedly clarified the meaning of the phrase *kattaluzzi šarra-* by pointing out that this action represents a privilege, and by comparing it with the use of *šarra-* in the sense "violate (a pledge)". That a gate (of which the threshold was a part [2]) was felt to act as a barrier to unprivileged persons is well illustrated by its magical use in this very text.

Students of Hittite religion will be grateful for the valuable discussion of the minor genii written ᴰMAḪ.MEŠ and ᴰ"*Gul*"-*šeš*. Götze proves that the latter name is to be read phonetically Gulšeš. With regard to the former, greater prominence might have been given to the remark on p. 57: "the ᴰMAḪ (sing.) is better attested but has not necessarily the same reading as the ᴰMAḪ.MEŠ." This ᴰMAḪ plays a major part in mythology, and, indeed, stands much closer to the original Sumerian goddess MAḪ, from whom she cannot in any case be entirely separated (as Forrer would have it), on account of the variant ᴰNIN.TU. But the supposition of different readings is hardly possible; for not only are the genii likewise sometimes written with the ideogram NIN.TU,

[1] *Die Hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue*, pp. 87 ff.

[2] In *KUB*. XXIV 3 i 54–5: KÁ-*uš ši-ik-pit* . . . [*ša*]*r-ri-iš-ki-it-ta* "thou passest through the gate (of heaven)," the word gate is actually substituted for threshold in this phrase. See *LAAA*. xxvii, pp. 24–5 and 83.

but also the goddess MAḪ has the same phonetic complements, indicating an *n*- stem, as the genii. This difficulty has yet to be explained.

This small book is thus an important contribution to the study of Hittite literature and language, and we may hope that it will not be the only volume of the American Oriental Series devoted to this subject.

B. 340. O. R. GURNEY.

Middle East

THE GREEKS IN BACTRIA AND INDIA. By W. W. TARN. pp. xxiii + 539, pl. 1, maps 3, table 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938. 30*s.*

This is a book by a distinguished classical scholar, written for other classical students to show that the history of Hellenism should include an account of its furthest extension eastwards, though the story of Alexander's successors had hitherto been studied chiefly by historians of India. Combining great industry and skill in arrangement, Dr. Tarn shows first in detail the Hellenic system in the near East, its methods of administration in all degrees from the emperor to the village, the formation of cities and colonies, the land system, and relations with the peasantry. Another chapter deals with social matters, religion, literary sources, trade, the calendar, and the reasons for the eventual Greek failure in India. All of this occupies one-seventh of the book, is of great interest to oriental students, and much of it will be new and valuable to them, as it is drawn from sources beyond their field of study and is well selected and arranged. The vivid reconstruction of Bactria at the beginning of its independence is certainly as near the truth as we are likely to get it unless details are revealed by excavation. The reasons for the Greek failure to establish Hellenism in the East are very convincing.

Most of the book is devoted to the history of the Bactrian

rulers and their invasions of India, and to some re-arrangement of their order as determined by previous writers. Here experience and analogies drawn from Hellenic relations further west are freely used. Apart from the few references in written classical histories and geographical works, coins are the chief material relied on by Dr. Tarn who pays a well-earned tribute to their classification and arrangement by oriental scholars. He has also used, in translations, Chinese sources and the very few references in Sanskrit and Prakrit literature. The book is thus a practically complete guide to the study of the subject and contains much acute criticism.

Comparison with the chapters in the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, the latest previous attempt to solve the many problems which arise, is difficult, because Dr. Tarn nowhere gives a summary of his chronological re-arrangement. He has produced no new decipherment of the coin inscriptions and has discovered no new ones, except the coin of a king Bellaios which he assigns to a small kingdom on the Gulf of Ormuz. Full use has been made of Mr. Whitehead's valuable paper on Bactrian novelties in the Numismatic Chronicle, 1923. Broadly speaking, Dr. Tarn is much bolder in hypothesis than Sir George Macdonald, Dr. Bevan, and Professor Rapson. Where Sir George suggests as "pure speculation" that Eucratides revolted in the interests of Antiochus Epiphanes and Professor Rapson thought it "by no means improbable" that Agathocleia was the Queen of Menander, Dr. Tarn considers both suggestions as absolutely certain. Eucratides' confidence in the success of his expedition and the unpopularity of the Euthydemids (pp. 202–3), of which there is no evidence at all, are explained by sheer guess-work. And once the guess is accepted so many things follow. Thus when an inscription describes Antiochus IV as "Saviour of Asia", and his sacrifice in 166 B.C., it must be because Eucratides, his general and relative had stopped Demetrius' progress (p. 195). Professor Rapson wrote: "The 'bust of Athena helmeted' on coins of Menander is perhaps a portrait of Agathocleia," which

Dr. Tarn transmutes into "Professor Rapson's discovery that some of the portraits of Athena on Menander's coins have the features of Agathocleia". It is difficult to follow his arguments that Eucratides was killed by the son of a Euthydemid prince (p. 220), and not by his own son, as Justin says. Here he misrepresents Justin's own text as describing the murder to have taken place in battle though Justin's words are *in itinere*. There is no reason to doubt that the son used a chariot on a road as well as in battle.

In Chapter VIII the history of the Greeks and the Saca invasion which divided the rulers of Eucratides' house from the Euthydemids and Menander's successors is traced till the death of Hermaeus. Here, Greek literary sources fail, and history is pieced together from the coins. Dr. Tarn prefers the evidence of types to that of artistic considerations though he has to admit difficulties in the case of Lysias who has Euthydemid emblems, but strikes a coin jointly with Antialcidas who belonged to the rival line. In this chapter and elsewhere he seems to be more positive than is justifiable regarding the attribution of coins to definite mints. An example is the so-called elephant god of Kapisa. Dr. Tarn is not solely responsible for this identification but the phrase is a doubtful one, as the elephant is not an Indian god at all. We have Indra's elephant and the elephant-headed Ganesh, but the elephant itself is neither a deity nor an incarnation of one. It seems more probable, however, that the elephant on coins of this period is associated with Buddhism, and Dr. Tarn has somehow missed Dr. Foucher's monograph on the Iconography of Buddha's Nativity (1934). Here we have the elephant of the conception and the elephants who bathed Buddha at his birth. There are also representations of elephants saluting a stupa, and the elephant was the symbol of a point of the compass. Simultaneously with the appearance of Dr. Tarn's book, Mr. J. N. Banerjea published an article in *I.H.Q.*, 1938, pp. 293–308, explaining the Zeus on these coins as Indra with his elephant, and the so-called "cap"

or "mountain" as a "stupa". The coins with this device may show the Greek Zeus and also the Buddhist elephant regarding a stupa, but to say (pp. 402–3) that an elephant may represent Maues' Indian kingdom or be the elephant of Taxila seems quite unjustifiable.

Apart from his discussion of the elephants, Dr. Foucher has a more plausible explanation of the so-called "dancing girl" on the bronze coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles (loc. cit., p. 12 and pl. iv, 5–8). He takes this to represent Maya the mother of Buddha, while Dr. Tarn regards the figure as a Yakshi connected with a town which he has no hesitation in identifying with the Nagara known as the Dionysopolis of Ptolemy because other coins of the same ruler have a panther (pp. 158–9). The reasoning seems far-fetched.

Dr. Tarn's ease of conjecture is well illustrated by his discussion of the various coins which have representations of Poseidon. Previous writers noted that the symbolism may refer to a naval battle. The earliest of these is a coin of Antimachus and Sir George Macdonald (*CHI.*, p. 449) thought it dangerous to assume that it referred to the Indus as the scene of a victory and to deduce from that the region in which Antimachus held sway, though Professor Rapson (ib., p. 547) thought the Indus or Jhelum must be referred to. Similar types occur on coins of Maues, Nicias, and Azes, and Dr. Tarn is prepared to explain all of these.

He takes Antimachus Theos to be a son of Euthydemus (p. 75) because a beautiful tetradrachm shows Antimachus smiling, while one of Agathocles' coins has a portrait of Euthydemus bearing a somewhat similar smile. He then assumes (p. 88) that Euthydemus, having conquered part of Parthia, made this over with the country round Merv to Antimachus as sub-king. The Poseidon coin must, in Dr. Tarn's opinion, commemorate a naval victory by Antimachus early in his career over the Sacas on the Oxus. A century later the Sacas, coming from Seistan, entered Sind, and the coins of Maues with Poseidon trampling on a river god or hurling a

thunderbolt on a figure clinging to the stern of a galley are taken (p. 322) to commemorate a naval victory on the Indus over the Greeks. Nicias, who Dr. Tarn thinks may have been Hippostratus' son, struck coins with the head of Poseidon and a dolphin twined round an anchor, and this is considered (pp. 328–9) to prove a victory on the Jhelum over a Saca fleet. Lastly, Azes used two Poseidon types, which are said (p. 349) to prove that he attacked Hippostratus about 30 B.C., and the Saca fleet avenged its previous defeat on the Jhelum and enabled Azes to cross it.

The first doubt raised by all this surmise is that Poseidon should be connected at all with naval battles on rivers. A more vital objection lies in the fact that a battle between men in boats is inconceivable on the Jhelum owing to the speed of its current and the absence of material for building boats except from up-stream. Alexander actually brought the few boats he had on arrival at the Jhelum by road from the Indus (*Arrian*, v, 8). In the history of the next 2,000 years there is no record of naval battles on any of the three rivers above Multan. It would be equally plausible to connect the type of Poseidon with Alexander's voyage down the Jhelum and Indus. At the start (*Arrian*, vi, 3) he sacrificed to the gods of the Jhelum, the Chenab and the Indus. When he arrived at Patalene and descended the river to the sea, he was surprised by the tide of which he had no previous experience, and sacrificed bulls to Poseidon (ib., vi, 19). But the field of conjecture is wide. The representations on Greek coins do not refer to contemporary events so frequently as those of the Romans, and the cult of Poseidon in inland towns like Mantineia and Rhaucus had nothing to do with naval victories.

In basing conclusions on general statements, Dr. Tarn sometimes omits to consider the circumstances of time and place. In Bactria, Gandhara, and N.W. India, it is dangerous to assume that overstriking of coins is usually a proof of victory (p. 215). It may simply mean a shortage of metal to strike new coins as is admitted in the case of Euthydemus

(p. 104), and Azes (p. 319). It is not correct to apply to India the dictum (p. 104) that it was the first and best known sign of independence in king or country to coin gold. Gold was being produced in Southern India and the early literature shows that it was known in the north, but the need for it in currency did not exist. The increased coinage of tetradrachms by Hippostratus is hardly likely to have been due to development of trade with the western world (p. 330): the Sacas blocked the road to the north and there is no evidence of trade to the south. It may have been due to fresh access to a supply of silver or to war needs.

Some of the conclusions based on the note by the writer of the Periplus that coins of Apollodotus and Menander were still circulating at Broach about two centuries after their time, fail to allow for Indian custom by which at all known times good coin remained current for centuries after its issue and in places remote from where it was coined. Thus it is unsafe to deduce that Apollodotus, who is believed to have held Broach, must have died some years before Menander, so as to allow the coin of the latter to become well established in that city, and hence to argue that he died fighting Eucratides (p. 215). Menander's campaigns and his occupation of the Punjab and Western Doab are quite sufficient to account for the copious output of his mints and the gradual spread of his coins outside his dominions.

Unfamiliarity with Indian conditions appears in other places. Pepper from Southern India intended for export to the Persian Gulf would never be taken by an inland route to Ujjain and thence to Broach (p. 373), but would be carried by sea. It is argued that Menander was a commoner because, according to the Milindapanha, he was born in a village and Hellenistic princesses did not live or have their children in villages. The authority is not unimpeachable, but Buddha himself was born in a village and later history gives many examples of princes and princesses born while their parents were touring.

The description of the coins issued by local Hindu dynasties at pp. 238–9 does not bring out the important distinction between tribes of the Himalayas and those of the plains. It seems certain that the Kunindas ruled in the hills on both sides of the Sutlej,[1] and the history of Menander hardly warrants the assumption that he made any conquests in the Himalayas which baffled so many of his successors. The Audumbaras and Trigartas also were hill people and probably never under Greek rule. They imitated Greek styles of coining as they had none of their own, thus differing from the rulers of Mathura, whose coins, both before and after Menander's conquest, owed nothing to Greek influence.

It is, perhaps, merely a slip to say (p. 403, n. 3) that no king, Greek, Saca, Pahlava, or Kushan, except Wima Kadphises is shown riding on an elephant. Huvishka is so shown on his copper coins (Panjab Catalogue, Nos. 137–172). To write of hand-sewn native coracles (p. 483) as taking goods from Omana in the Gulf of Ormuz to Arabia is a serious misnomer. These were no doubt ships resembling those of later date described by Mr. Moreland (*JRAS.*, 1939, p. 63).

The book includes a number of appendices on technical questions; it also has a table showing Dr. Tarn's reconstruction of the imaginary descent of the Seleucids and some of the Bactrian kings from Alexander, an excellent plate of some of the portrait coins, and three very useful maps. The index is accurate and fairly full, but while Dr. Tarn has given a key to the contractions he has used in referring to Indian archæological literature he has taken for granted that readers will understand such cryptic references as S.E.G., O.G.I.S., and P.W. The last is more likely to suggest to Indian students the big Sanskrit dictionary than Pauly-Wissowa. Both in the text and in the notes cross-references are freely given and it is very necessary in studying the book to take full advantage of them so as to be certain whether a particular statement is founded on evidence, reasoning, or merely conjecture.

[1] Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 70.

For example, at p. 471, after emending Isidore's text on Alexandreia and Alexandropolis, he asserts that the latter was Kandahar, and that a place with that name cannot have been founded by Alexander, but was a military colony. A reference is given to p. 7, where note 2 admits that there is no evidence for the assertion that places called Alexandropolis must be military colonies claiming to go back to Alexander.

R. BURN.

A HISTORY OF AFGHANISTAN. By Brig.-Gen. Sir PERCY SYKES, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G. 6 × 9, pp. viii + 412 and 413. pl. 21 and 8 maps. London: Macmillan and Co., 1940. 50s. net.

A standard *History of Afghānistān* has for long been one of the desiderata of Oriental study and it is very satisfactory to find that the gap has been filled by an author of the calibre and the qualifications of Sir Percy Sykes.

In such a work there is an initial problem to be faced owing to the fact that until some 150 or 200 years ago there was no separate entity which could be described as Afghānistān, and the previous history of the country must be written in an entirely different manner to the subsequent story. The work under review, accordingly, falls into two distinct parts represented very roughly by the first and second volumes respectively.

A purist in writing the earlier portion could no doubt have confined himself strictly to the fortunes of those tracts of country which now constitute Afghānistān, and a sketch of this character, though probably jejune enough, would have been technically orthodox. But Sir Percy Sykes has chosen a more interesting and necessarily more discursive method, by which he ranges over the annals of all the neighbouring states which in any way, directly or indirectly, bear on the areas now included in Afghānistān. The narrative makes no claim to originality, but recourse is had to the best and most recent authorities, and we are presented with a vivid and valuable epitome of the history of Western Asia through

the centuries, written by an experienced author who is intensely interested in his subject.

The main value of the work lies in the description given of the country as it gradually developed under its own rulers until it attained its present proportions. There is no standard account extant of the history of Afg͟hānistān from the days of Ahmad Shāh 'Abdālī to those of King Zāhir Shāh, and the narrative now provided by Sir Percy Sykes will be greatly appreciated both by historians and by men of affairs. Indeed, if the book is translated—as we hope it may be—into Persian, it is to this latter part of the work that the translator's attention would in the first place be most profitably applied. The writer has made use of all the important published works on the subject and has had recourse also to official records and to personal inquiries. Several of his chapters have been read over for him by experts especially acquainted with the subjects under discussion and he has had direct access to a number of first-hand authorities by consultations with experienced British officers. The result is a clear and useful exposition, which, though based almost exclusively on British documents and British authorities, may be accepted as furnishing a fair and accurate account of the leading features of Afg͟hān events. The various characters introduced, both Afg͟hān and British, stand out well and, as a pupil of Sir Mortimer Durand, the author is entirely at home in describing the evolutions of the "Great Game" represented by the Russo-British rivalries of the last generation.

As a mere chronicle the book is of marked importance, but it is much more than this and its value is enhanced by the distinctive personality of the writer. With many of the sites, incidents, and characters recorded he has had a personal connection and at a rough calculation there must be some fifty or sixty occasions on which he introduces personal recollections, which add greatly to the picturesqueness of the narrative. He has besides a marked *flair* for picking out the more striking incidents in a series of events. He illustrates

his text with a wide range of literary quotation and he illuminates his characters by a number of suggestive comparisons—the Seljuks and the Norsemen, for instance, Jalāluddīn of Khārizm and Charles XII of Sweden, Louis XIV and Aurangzeb, the Sikhs and the Templars, and so forth. Additional distinction is added to his *dramatis personae* by the occasional use of adjectival prefixes, as in "resolute Nott", "temperamental Ellenborough", "grim 'Abdarrahmān", *etc.*, and the whole work embodies a valuable combination of careful study and infectious enthusiasm.

E. D. MACLAGAN.

India

BAHĀRISTĀN-I-GHAYBĪ. By MĪRZĀ NATHAN. Translated by Dr. M. I. BORAH. Two vols., pp. xxix + 930. 8½ × 5½. Gauhati, Assam: Government of Assam, 1936. 10 or 15*s*.

The existence of a unique manuscript of this work in the Bibliothéque Nationale at Paris was brought to notice by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who has published several articles on it. But its wealth of detail fully justifies a complete translation. The author, Alauddin Isfahani, known familiarly as Mirza Nathan, and having the pen-name of Ghaybi, was of Persian origin. His father became Mir Bahr or Admiral of the Mughul Fleet, and with his son, left Agra for Bengal in 1607. For the next eighteen years, during which period the father died and was succeeded by Nathan the Mughuls were engaged in subduing rebellious Afghans, and in expeditions against Cooch Behar, Assam, Tippera, and Arakan. Details of those expeditions are given in full and complete and are corroborated by other sources.

In addition to his account of those affairs, the author also supplements the accounts of Jahangir's reign in other areas, such as the rebellion of the pseudo-Khusrav at Patna, and in particular the rebellion of Shah Jahan, details of which are now much clearer than they appear in other sources. But perhaps the chief value of the book lies outside the

narration of political events. Nathan shows himself a brave soldier with a fiery petulant nature, rather more loyal to his emperor than most of his contemporaries, though he did join Shah Jahan. His accounts of his campaigns throw much light on tactics in difficult country, the use of boats, of elephants, of caltrops, and of stockades. Recent writers have doubted whether European writers in the seventeenth century were correct in stating that the property of deceased officials escheated to the government. Nathan gives a number of instances including the case of his own father.

The late Mr. Moreland (*JRAS.*, 1938, p. 511) pointed out that the *Chaudhrī* is rarely mentioned in the chronicles, while the administrative literature omitted to detail his duties or method of pay. Nathan says (p. 157) that the *Chaudhrī* signed the register of revenue assessments in Bengal, and (p. 281) laments that when his house was burnt down the *Chaudhrīs* did not assist him with their men. Elsewhere he gives examples of administrative difficulties in the collection of revenue (p. 16), delay in the pay of his men (p. 34), and an amusing stratagem to capture a disloyal officer (p. 454).

Anthropologists will find interesting details of magic in Assam (p. 273), and an extraordinary account of the behaviour of the Bhutanese (p. 677).

The translator tells us that the style of the original is simple and his English version is clear and readable, though in one or two cases he slips, as for example, in using " fatal " where he means " severe ", or in calling the big toe the " thumb of the foot ". It may also be pointed out that Chund, Chaund, or Jaund (p. 5, and n. 8, p. 791) is now known as Chainpur. The word Gawār (p. 8) which has not been understood, is merely the Hindi word for " villager ", and Chajāha, where the attack took place, is probably Chochakpur, in the Ghazipur District. It is not surprising that Mirza Nathan called the Magh Raja Salim (p. 89, and n. 10, p. 816), though this is a Muslim name, as the Rajas of Arakan used such names from

the fifteenth century (*Cam. Hist. India*, iv, p. 477). Alhābās is not a corruption of Ilahābād (p. 726 and n. 18, p. 859). It occurs elsewhere as a place-name in the United Provinces, and is so spelt on copper coins of Akbar, who is credited later with the change to Ilahābād. At p. 733 we should probably read Soron (in Etah District) for Surun. The translator might have added dates more freely in his notes where they can be ascertained. So far as names are concerned the index is adequate, but it lacks references to some of the more important topics mentioned in the book.

A. 896. R. BURN.

PRE-MUSULMAN INDIA. Vol. II, Part 1, Vedic India. The Aryan Expansion over India. By V. RANGACHARYA. 9¾ × 7, pp. xv + 566. Madras: Indian Publishing House, 1937.

It is some eight years since we noticed the first (prehistoric) part of Mr. Rangacharya's ambitious history of India down to the Muhammadan conquest. The present volume deals with the historical aspect of the Vedic period down to about 600 B.C.; a complementary volume will deal with the culture of the period. This volume then deals with what the author conveniently calls "Aryan expansion over India"; that is, the history of the synthesis of "Aryan" and "non-Aryan" elements in early Indian culture. Chapter I surveys the sources and their nature. Chapter II deals at length with the chronology of the literature; the various views that have been put forward are analysed and the archæological evidence compared with the literary. We cannot agree that the Rg-Veda is so early as the author puts it, but the section is very valuable as a history of Vedic research. Chapter III treats of the historical and geographical elements in the Veda and the present state of our knowledge. The subject of Chapters IV and V is the "Aryan expansion over Hindustan", that is to say, it discusses very fully the historical elements in the later Vedic literature and epics, and is an encyclopædia of

tribal history. The last chapter sketches the spread of Vedic culture through South India to Ceylon. Mr. Rangacharya has given us a useful book; while we cannot agree with all his views, and particularly his chronology, the volume is valuable as a survey of the present state of our knowledge and we wish success to the author in the continuation of his task.

B. 226. J. ALLAN.

CATALOGUE OF THE PALM LEAF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE COLOMBO MUSEUM, Vol. I. By W. A. DE SILVA. Memoirs of the Colombo Museum, Series A, No. 4. 12 × 10½, pp. xxxiv + 412, pls. 6. Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1938. Rs. 10.

The author of this Catalogue has classified the manuscripts under six main heads: (i) Theravāda Buddhist Literature in Sinhalese script; (ii) the same in Burmese and Cambodian script; (iii) History and Tradition; (iv) Grammar and Lexicography; (v) Prosody and Poetry; and (vi) Art. The whole is preceded by an Introduction and followed by four Indices.

The Introduction, which is somewhat diffuse, deals among other matters with the history of the Museum collection, the preparation of talipat leaves for writing, the system of pagination, the Sinhalese numerals, the development of the Sinhalese alphabet, the methods of dating manuscripts, and a short outline of Sinhalese literature. The following may be noted. The statement on p. xxi that "some books compiled in the fourteenth century, A.C." are dated in an era calculated from the Enlightenment of the Buddha is erroneous; the books in question were written in the thirteenth century. On p. xxxii we find the allegation that the *Mayūra Sandēśaya* is the oldest of this class of poem; this is not the case, the *Tisara Sandēśaya* having been addressed to King Parākrama Bāhu V of Dādigama. No reference has been made to the poems known as *Hatana*.

The value of the main body of the work would have been much enhanced by a fuller account of the historical data occurring in the manuscripts described. We may note this defect, for example, in the account of the *Saddharmaratnākaraya* (p. 215), the *Pūjāvaliya* (p. 256), and the *Nikāya Saṁgrahaya* (p. 294); the author has lost an unique opportunity of helping historical students. In other respects also the Catalogue is deficient, for instance, in the absence of any explanation of the difference between *Pūjāvaliya* I and II, and in the vague and meagre description of the *Paraṁgi Hatanaya* (p. 297).

The system of transliteration and the diacriticals employed are not always those authorized by Government, and misprints and misspellings are not infrequent. In spite of serious blemishes the work is of value.

B. 382. H. W. CODRINGTON.

INSCRIPTIONS OF BURMA. University of Rangoon: Oriental Studies Publications. 18 × 14. No. 3. Portfolio II: Down to 630 B.E. (A.D. 1268), pls. 115. No. 4, Portfolio III, 630-662 B.E. (A.D. 1268-1300), pls. 121. London: Humphrey Milford, 1939. £5 5*s*. each.

These portfolios continue the work—great in conception and finely executed—which began in Portfolio No. 1, published in 1933 and reviewed in this *Journal* in January, 1935, p. 163. Portfolio No. 1 included the earliest inscriptions. No. 2 includes some more early inscriptions recently discovered, and No. 3 ends at about A.D. 1300 with the fall of Pagan.

The editors, with their collaborators, the persons who took the estampages, the photographer, and the printer, have done a service of incalculable value in putting these inscriptions in permanent form, beyond the risk of further damage from the weather or other enemies. The size of the printed portion of the page is 10 in. by 14 in.; the letters are in all cases big enough to be read without strain to the eyes, and the maximum of legibility has been coaxed out of the stones.

The great majority of the inscriptions are in Burmese—the Mon inscriptions, deciphered and translated by Dr. C. Otto Blagden and Mr. Ch. Duroiselle in the *Epigraphia Birmanica*, have been excluded. All are of linguistic value as documents in Old Burmese and many are also of historical value.

The editors provide an excellent Table of Contents, giving particulars of each inscription, including its present whereabouts. In their Preface, they point out the urgency of their task, and the force of their contention must be admitted. Translation and editing must wait—the important thing is to push on with the publication of facsimiles of these valuable records before they are irretrievably damaged. Scholars will be grateful for this plenteous second instalment of a great work.

B. 410. J. A. STEWART.

DIE YAJUS' DES AŚVAMEDHA. By SHRIKRISHNA BHAWE. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. x + 136. Bonner Orientalistische Studien Heft 25. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1939. RM. 10.

In Part II of this work is given a very useful presentation of the Mantra material of the *Taittirīya*, *Kāṭhaka*, *Maitrāyaṇīya*, and *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitās*, so arranged as to show clearly the impossibility of reconstructing an original Aśvamedha text. In Part I the author discusses the relations of the Saṁhitās, and certain details of the sacrifice.

In the main the results attained are in accord with those current, but the effort to prove a chronological order, MS., VS., TS., and KS., is unacceptable, save as regards the KS., which is clearly later than the TS. The better order of the MS., which accords with the ritual use of the Mantras, may easily be adduced as a sign of later date, and the actual Mantras afford little of real value for purposes of dating. The posteriority of the VS. to the TS. is suggested by many grounds.

It is suggested (p. 62) that the TS. v. 3. 12, in connecting

e horse with Prajāpati is later than TB. iii, 8, 20, 3–4, here connection with Varuṇa is stressed, but that originally . 67) the horse was offered not to any individual god, hether Varuṇa, or Indra, but to the gods together. So r, however, as the sacrifice is regarded as an offering to the ods, the recipient in the original form must surely have een the sun, for the sacrifice in one of its aspects is plainly ne intended to strengthen the sun and promote fertility in ll its forms. The view (pp. 21, 42, 57, 70) that certain elements an be reckoned Vedic, certain non-Vedic, the latter including e Queen's dealings with the slaughtered victim, and the ffering to Jumbaka—not in the TS.—who is deemed to be e spirit of evil, is open to the usual difficulty that we have o criterion for discrimination of character. The role of the ueen, however repugnant to us and to later Indian opinion, clearly in the sacrifice an important ritual of fertility magic o secure progeny for the king endowed with quasi-divine haracteristics, and we must accept it as part of Indo-Aryan eligious practice. The Jumbaka ceremony is of uncertain haracter, but it is also in keeping with Indo-Aryan religion, hough the omission of it in the TS. may indicate that it was ot equally acceptable to all schools of thought, and that some f the Taittiriya school did not practise it. But the TB. iii, , 15, 3 regards Jumbaka as Varuṇa, and the ŚB. xiii, 3, 6, 5 grees, and this is an important consideration which cannot e explained away in the ingenious manner adopted by Professor Bhawe, who suggests that Sāyaṇa on TB. is right n equating Varuṇa with vāraka, "was vermieden werden soll." Sāyaṇa is, as often, unable to explain what seemed to him, doubtless, as to us an anomaly, and merely falls back on an impossible verbal explanation. The omission of the Mantra in TS. is undoubtedly curious, but its early character is attested by its occurrence in MS. and VS. no less than in KS., and it is very possible that it has merely fallen out of the TS.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

L'AGNIHOTRA. Description de l'agnihotra dans le rituel védique. By P.-E. DUMONT. 9 × 6, pp. xv + 213, plan 1. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1939. 16s.

Professor Dumont has already rendered important services to the cause of Vedic religion, and his new work adds materially to our obligation to him. The Agnihotra embodies an ancient sun spell and must each day be performed by Brahmins and Vaiśyas, so that its practical importance in Vedic life is greater than that of the sacrifices bound up with special occasions or periods. The method of dealing with it adopted is to give an account thereof according to the eight important Śrautasūtras, *Kātyāyana*, *Āpastamba*, *Hiraṇyakeśin*, *Baudhāyana*, *Manu*, *Āśvalāyana*, *Śāṅkhāyana*, and the *Vaitāna*. The *Bhāradvāja*, *Vārāha*, and *Vaikhānasa* are ignored, without substantial loss. Instead of a bare translation of each Sūtra, a clear exposition of what it tells us is accorded, with the text appended, that of the mantras referred to, and extracts from the commentaries. A conspectus of the material in the sources renders it easy to see how far there is accord between the several schools. No more useful service could be rendered than this work to those who desire to study Vedic ritual, for the expert skill of the author renders it possible to accord full faith to his exposition. It is interesting to note how such detailed studies help to solve the difficulties presented by the brief Sūtra texts, and to control the commentators. Professor Caland, whose knowledge of the ritual was of a very high order, rendered *Āpastamba*, vi, 4, 2, *na stanān saṁmṛśati* as meaning that in milking the milker does not touch the teats with hand moistened as usual. This view is that of the commentary on *Hiraṇyakeśin* in the parallel passage. But it must be admitted that the omission in the text of the two Sūtras and of the parallel in *Baudhāyana* of the phrase *sodakena pāṇinā* supplied by the commentator is inexplicable, and the force of *sam* is not brought out. What is meant is that he does not touch the teats together, as appears clearly from the use of the word in *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, ii, 1, 8, 1–2, where the

commentary misunderstands *saṁmṛśati* as *mardayati*. The advantages of the comparative method of treating obscure terms are seldom more neatly exhibited, and any student of one of the Sūtras will find many cases where the *prima facie* rendering of the text is proved defective by reference to other Sūtra parallels.

B. 434. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

STUDIES IN INDO-MUSLIM HISTORY: A Critical Commentary on Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*. By S. H. HODĪVĀLĀ. 9¾ × 6¾, pp. xxiii + 727. Bombay, 1939.

In this volume, Professor Hodivala, already well known for his researches in Indian numismatics, presents us with the fruits of many years' work in another sphere—that of the history of India during the Muhammadan period. The eight volumes of that monumental work, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, completed about sixty years ago, had attained a well-deserved reputation as indispensable to all serious students of Indo-Muslim history. Since it was compiled, however, many new sources of information have come to light, and scholars have from time to time drawn attention to defects, largely inseparable from a pioneer work of such magnitude. Professor Hodivala, by making a close and systematic study of these volumes, along with relevant original texts, inscriptions, and other data, has been able to suggest an enormous number of corrections of interpretation and reading, as well as of identifications of persons and places named, thus elucidating a very large number of obscure passages hitherto unexplained or erroneously interpretated. Another useful, though toilsome, task undertaken has been to establish the chronology, where variously recorded, by means of the week-day test, where this could be applied.

Many of the suggestions are hypothetical or tentative, as the author expressly states in his Introduction: "They have been put forward only for provoking discussion or

stimulating research and eliciting more satisfactory solutions." Corroboration of this will be found in the fifteen pages of "Additions and Corrections" already inserted (pp. 9–23). The fact remains that Professor Hodivala has undoubtedly solved a vast number of difficulties that beset the reader, and has placed the student of Indian history under permanent obligation. That he has been able to achieve this is due to a methodical system of keeping notes, his own linguistic attainments and wide reading, intimacy with the peoples and their customs, and an uncommon flair for topographical detail. Exigencies of space preclude reference here to the many important emendations and identifications noticed, but it may at least be said that the more one reads these "Studies", the more one is impressed by the erudition and insight of the author.

A complete set of Elliot and Dowson's volumes is now very scarce, and commands a very high price. A new edition is called for. Should this be issued, Professor Hodivala's work might suitably perhaps form a supplementary volume; otherwise his valuable notes should be incorporated. The following few suggestions may be added for his consideration in case of revision.

p. 76. Regard being had to the reference in the *Chachnāma* to a Buddhist *vihāra*, the enigmatical name "Samani" may possibly be connected with the Sans. *śramaṇa*, used of a Buddhist (or Jaina) priest.

p. 129, l. 2 from foot. For "*Dākin* in the vernacular" read "*Ḍākin* in the vernacular".

p. 136, l. 4 from foot. For *jatūgriha* read *jatugṛha*.

p. 144. "The great Budda" at Nārdin. For the most recent and authoritative opinion on this question, see Sir A. Stein's *Archæological Reconnaissances in NW. India and SE. Īrān*, pp. 41–4.

p. 160, l. 16. Since V. A. Smith wrote his *E.H.I.*, another recension of Aśoka's edicts has been discovered at Erragudi, near Gooty (Karnūl district).

p. 185, ll. 6 and 7 from foot. For "north-eastern" read "north-western".

p. 206, l. 20. For "south of Patna" read "east-south-east of Patna".

p. 409, l. 3. Might this not be Mārot, now in the Bahāwalpur State, a place apparently of some importance in early times, lying on a route from Multān to Delhi via Sirsā?

p. 453, l. 19. The maps included in Rennell's *Bengal Atlas* were compiled and published by him during the years 1779–1781 (not in 1772).

p. 493, l. 7 from foot, and p. xx, l. 10. The first part of the place names Baksar and Buxar is doubtless derived from Sans. *vyāghra*, "tiger." It may be noted that the town in the Shāhābād district shown as "Buxar" on our maps is pronounced Baghsar (बघसर) by the local country folk.

H. 469. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

Indica

A GUIDE TO NĀLANDĀ. By A. GHOSH. 8×6, pp. i + i + 51, pls. 10, plan 1. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1939. As. 12, or 1*s*.

A handy and useful guide to the excavations on the ancient Buddhist site of Nalanda in Bihar and to the local museum where most of the portable proceeds are preserved.

B. 546.

NANDAPUR: A FORSAKEN KINGDOM. By BIDYADHAR SINGH DEO, KUMĀRA. 9¼ × 6¼, pp. i + viii + vii + i + 156, pl. 1, ills. 22. Cuttack: Utkal Sahitya Press, 1939.

A history of the Śaṅkara dynasty of Nandapur in Vizagapatam, founded by Vināyaka Deva (A.D. 1443–1476), and now represented by Maharaja Vikrama Deva IV of Jeypore and his adopted son Kumāra Rāmakṛṣṇa Deva.

B. 532.

FOREIGN NOTICES OF SOUTH INDIA FROM MEGASTHENES TO MA HUAN. By K. A. NĪLAKANTHA ŚĀSTRI. (Madras University Historical Series, No. 14.) 10 × 7, pp. xiv + 341. Madras: University of Madras, 1939.

A useful collection of the references to Southern India and Ceylon in the works of Greek and Roman writers, Chinese pilgrims, European travellers, etc., translated, with introduction and notes.

B. 535.

THE TRIPĀDĪ. Being an abridged English recast of Pūrvatrāsiddham (an analytical-synthetical inquiry into the system of the last three chapters of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī). By H. E. BUISKOOL. 10 × 6½, pp. xv + 156. Leiden: E. J. Brill. Leiden, 1939.

A careful study of the method of Pāṇini's Sanskrit grammar with especial reference to its last three chapters, leading to the conclusion that the latter form " a system of thematical groups which are rationally classified and arranged ".

B. 503.

Islam

THE QUR'AN. Translated with a critical re-arrangement of the Surahs. By RICHARD BELL. Vol. II, Surahs XXV–CXLVI. 9 × 6, pp. vii + 346 to 697. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1939. Price 12*s.* 6*d.*

The publication of the second volume of this translation brings to completion what is undoubtedly the most important piece of work in the field of Qur'ānic studies that has appeared in our generation. (For a notice of vol. i, see *Journal*, 1938, p. 618.) Vol. i contained Sūras I–XXIV; this second contains Sūras XXV–CXIV. As this part includes all the earlier and more difficult passages, the dividing up of the Sūras into their component parts is in many places confessedly less certain than in the earlier volume, and as we know so little

of the background of the early pronouncements of the Prophet, many of the interpretations of this early material are necessarily more speculative. Dr. Bell, however, has carried through consistently his theory of the composition of the Qur'ān, and has reached results that must be the starting point for any further serious critical work on the book.

Perhaps the most significant thing that emerges from this analysis of the Sūras, is that, contrary to earlier opinion, we have relatively little early Meccan material in the Qur'ān, while much more than we had allowed must be considered as Madīnan in origin, and still more as Madīnan in its present form, even though it may contain early material. This fits in very well with conclusions being reached from quite another line of study, viz. that on the *Sīra*.

Students will be interested in the very numerous new interpretations of familiar passages, interpretations which are always interesting even when they may not carry conviction. It is to be expected that further study will shed light on words that are at present quite obscure. For example, Dr. Tritton has recently (*BSOS.*, ix, 926) suggested a god-name origin for the curious *aṣ-Ṣamad* of Sūra cxii, 2. It is also not entirely impossible that we may discover textual material that will enable us to get behind the *textus receptus* which Dr. Bell has necessarily had to take as the basis of his critical work.

In an endeavour to render as literally as possible the text before him the translator has at times, perhaps, strained the English idiom overmuch, but there are advantages, in such a task as this, in literalness as against elegance. The work as a whole is very accurate, though n. 2 on p. 577 should read *paraklētos* in the first italicized word, and *periklutos* in the second.

R. 426.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

THE ANSĀB AL-ASHRĀF OF AL-BALĀDHURĪ. Vol. IV B. Ed. by MAX SCHLOESSINGER. 11 × 8, pp. 178 + v + 47. Jerusalem: University Press, 1938. 15*s*.

Each instalment of this book confirms the impression that its value for the early history of Islam was exaggerated by hope. This volume contains very little that is new. It says that Marwān I promised the succession to 'Amr b. Sa'īd; in vol. v it is said that 'Amr claimed to have received this promise. The story of the murder of 'Amr is exciting, but it is only an amplification of one line in al-Ṭabari. About events in Basra after the death of Yazīd, what is given is rather a new combination of events. When the town refused to obey 'Ubaidallah, he stayed for forty days under the protection of Mas'ūd of Azd. Before leaving for Syria he appointed Mas'ūd governor. Al-Aḥnaf stirred up the Khawārij who murdered Mas'ūd. Azd suspected Tamīm and it came to a fight in which al-Aḥnaf was slow to take part. The tribe of Tamīm stopped hostilities and then al-Aḥnaf came forward as peace-maker.

Much of the book is pedestrian, but many of the stories are well told and exciting, while some are amusing. A schoolmaster thought it high time that 'Ubaidallah gave him a gift. Hearing that the great man wanted some slaves, he dressed up some of his scholars and sold them to his steward. When evening came, the children cried to go home and the trick was exposed. 'Ubaidallah laughed and let the schoolmaster keep his money. The editing is up to the standard of the first instalment; no more need be said.

B. 471. A. S. TRITTON.

Art, Archæology, Anthropology

CYLINDER SEALS. By H. FRANKFORT. A documentary essay in the art and religion of the ancient Near East. 10 × 8, pp. xlvii + 328, pls. xlvii, figs. 116. London: Macmillan and Co., 1939. £2 2*s*.

The cylinder seals of Mesopotamia and the neighbouring

regions, which were always subject to its influence culturally far more than politically, form a copious and ever-increasing store of illustration intimately expressive of the mentality of their makers; it was a popular art, for every Babylonian carried a seal, and to that character it doubtless owed the vitality which preserved it through all the vicissitudes of more than two millennia. But it was a peculiar genius of invention in its pictorial subjects and in their expression which gave it that astonishing after-life in lands and centuries far removed from any acquaintance with its creators, which Dr. Frankfort has revealed and analysed in some of the best pages of a book distinguished throughout by remarkable command of the material, judgment in its choice, and ingenuity in its explanation. The first two are displayed most clearly in the contents of his forty-seven excellent plates, the last in several chapters of acute discussion.

The main historical divisions into which the material falls, and the broadly unmistakable characteristics of each, have long been familiar. There have now been added the prehistoric seals, some of outstanding achievement, and to these the author has been able to give an exacter classification and a study of their artistic methods. He attaches importance to the varying evidence of use of the drill as a criterion of dating; no doubt a difference in the visibility of its use is perceptible and significant. Yet the real difference, it may be thought, is in the relative thoroughness with which the work was finished with the graver, for the very deeply cut figures of the Uruk period can hardly have been roughed out otherwise than by the drill. Dr. Frankfort, indeed, denies the feasibility of such a process (p. 153), but the example which he gives hardly disproves this, and earlier (p. 31) he had been inclined to admit it. However this may be, his account of the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods, his original observations upon the development and varying character of the Early Dynastic seals, his analysis of the quite distinct Assyrian contribution to the art, and his very instructive distinction

of its evolutions in Syria are all stylistic criticism of a helpful kind.

So far the book moves over ground at least partially mapped, but adventure begins when historical development is done with and the pictures themselves have to be described. Everyone accustomed to looking at these miniature compositions is familiar with the unending enigmas which they present to a would-be interpreter. Dr. Frankfort knows this as well as any, and attacks his task fully conscious that he may well be deemed to have failed, and cannot prove that he has been successful. We do not, in fact, possess that knowledge of the immense but inter-connected mythology of the Babylonians which might securely explain the elaborate scenes beloved especially in the Akkadian period, when execution and repertoire alike were at their height. It is, of course, impossible in a review to take issue with the author's ably-conducted arguments in support of several hypotheses which may in general be pronounced reasonable even if not demonstrable. But he is handicapped by a blind spot and a prejudice. The first is his surprising failure to recognize the essentially amuletic character of the seal. This leads him not only into unconvincing assumptions (p. 246, "its original meaning already having been lost"), and false distinctions (p. 12, and especially that underlying his notions of Egyptian seals, p. 293), but into needless difficulties in observing the conduct of such figures as the Naked Hero and the Bull-Man, or the combats between humans and monsters on the Assyrian seals, the magical significance of which, whether apotropaic of evil or attractive of good, can hardly be in doubt. From the same deficiency he misses, it may be thought, the significance of the Early Dynastic herds and guardians with their enemies and of the introduction scene favoured in the Third Dynasty of Ur, which seem to illustrate the customary negative and positive aspects of magic. The prejudice noted above is against astrological explanations (pp. 68, 108), which can, indeed, be overworked, but are suggested very strongly by some of

the scenes there described, and are not effectively discredited by the absence of early texts, for there is no written mythology before 2000 B.C. They are, indeed, admitted by the author for a later period (p. 156), an unfounded distinction which traverses the continuity of Babylonian ideas, elsewhere so marked. It is worthy of note, for example, that most of the figures in the "boating-scene" can be found distributed among the three "ways" of heaven, listed in the astronomical treatise called (*mul*) *Apin*, though it is true that they do not stand in any special proximity there. But if these figures are to be sought in Babylonian mythology it must surely be in the heavens, for there is no evidence to support the author's idea that the Sun-god in Babylonia, as in Egypt, travelled underground back to the place of his rising. Even the "Acre" and the "Plough" to cultivate it were in heaven, and the "Hind" who laboured upon it was Tammuz.

Discussion of further questions like this being excluded by space, it may be useful to end with a few remarks of detail. There are two or three wrong references to the plates—p. 28 for pl. iii *a*, *f*, read *a*, *e*: p. 107 for xxiii *f*, read *g*; p. 318 for xlvii *b* read *a*. A few verbal slips or infelicities—p. 57 n. "random arrangement of seals (signs ?)"; p. 93 "deny the irrelevancy" (read "their relevancy"); p. 153 "excessive art (use ?) of the drill"; p. 158 "which remains (reminds ?) one of the uraeus"; p. 215 n. "Shamash-Resh-Ushur" is wrongly written, and so is Tukulti-Enurta in contrast with the god Ninurta (in several places); p. 244 "Sargon II of Assyria"—the meaning is doubtless correct but is unfortunately expressed; p. 279 "a non-Semitic name (Awilia)". Finally, pl. xviii *k* is wrongly cut, for the kneeling figure at the left is a "gatepost supporter" to the god in the watery shrine, as observed on p. 123.

C. J. GADD.

B 359.

RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES À BEGRAM (Chantier 2). By J. HACKIN, avec la collaboration de MADAME J. R. HACKIN. Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, Tome IX. In two vols. 14½ × 11, pp. 137, pls. 78, maps 3, plan 1, ills. 8. Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1939.

In this, his latest Memoir, M. Hackin describes the splendid series of glass, ivory, bronze, and other objects unearthed in 1937 among the ruins of the later palace-citadel at Begram, in South Afghanistan. As explained in the Foreword, the author's object has been to put other archæologists as soon as possible in possession of these supremely interesting materials, and he has done this in the most practical way by devoting the bulk of the two volumes to a detailed catalogue of the objects (numbering 365), illustrated by 238 first-rate photographs and other sketches, and by adding an illuminating chapter on the date, technique, provenance and artistic affinities of the more important finds. In his prefatory account of the site and its rediscovery in modern times, M. Hackin identifies Begram with the Nicaea of Arrian and the Kāpiśī of Tsüan-tsang; Alexandria of the Caucasus he would place some miles to the north of Begram in the vicinity of Parwān (Djebel-Serāj). A different view is taken by Tarn, who in his latest work, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (pp. 460–462), has shown very good reasons for regarding Alexandria and Kāpiśī as parts of a double city, the former standing on the west and the latter on the east bank of the Panjshīr River, just below its confluence with the Ghorband. The ruins at Begram would thus represent Alexandria rather than Kāpiśī, though both names seem to have been used interchangeably for the whole city. Nicæa is placed by Tarn somewhere to the south of Begram (op. cit., p. 99). One would much like to hear what M. Hackin, with his personal knowledge of the ground, thinks of this new theory; he quotes Dr. Tarn's

book on p. 65 of his Memoir, but does not mention it in connection with this particular problem.

The collection of ornamental glass is a large and singularly varied one. Besides other pieces, it includes some fine specimens of painted goblets, fish-shaped vases, and vases caged in open network, indented ware, standard rhytons, handled *paterae* (in imitation of metal originals), a beautiful example of a *millefiori* plate and a ribbed *phialè*. They range in date from the first to the early part of the fourth century A.D., and for the most part are products of Syro-Phœnician factories on the Mediterranean littoral, with which the Paropamisadæ must have been in commercial touch as late as the fourth century. Were these vessels, belonging to such widely differing ages, a collection of family heirlooms handed down from generation to generation in some wealthy household of Kāpiśi ? Or were they purchased *en bloc* from some Western dealer in the early years of the fourth century ? Whatever their history, it is clear from the extremely delicate nature of their fabrics that they must have been preserved with the utmost care and regarded by their owners as highly cherished possessions. Doubtless this is equally true of the graved and sculptured ivories ; for they, too, exhibit striking differences of style and technique, and if we knew as much about their history as we do about that of the glasswares, we should probably find that their ages were just about as varied. All of these ivories show, as M. Hackin points out, strong Indian influences. Some of them were almost certainly imports from Hindustan or Central India ; others, including the magnificent coffer No. 329 and Nos. 326, 327, 331, and 332, were almost just as certainly produced in the North-West—as likely as not at Kāpiśi itself—and throw valuable light on the mundane art of that region. On the strength of these ivories the author remarks (p. 25) " Il semble donc que, dans le Nord de l'Inde, l'art profane se soit montré rebelle aux influences étrangères, alors que l'art bouddique ouvertement patronné par les envahisseurs, se laissait plus facilement entamer ". This is

questionable. The art of stone-carving had come to India from Western Asia and it was only natural that the artists of Gandhāra should draw their inspirations from Hellenistic work, with its freer styles and more advanced technique, rather than from the work of the Early Indian School, despite the atmosphere of sanctity in which its hallowed associations had wrapt the latter. Ivory-carving, on the other hand, was from the very nature of the material, an essentially Indian art, and it was to India that the ivory-carvers of the Paropamisadae and Gandhāra would naturally look for their models, though they could not at the same time help being influenced by the Greek or quasi-Greek art which had long since taken root in their country. In like manner, it was to the West and not to the East that the coin-engravers and bronze-workers of the North-West turned for inspiration, since India could produce no coins or bronzes comparable with those of Greece.

JOHN MARSHALL.

Postscript.—Since writing the above, I have received the *Comptes Rendus* of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* for 1939, containing an instructive article by M. A. Foucher on the site of Nicæa. This city he places about a hundred kilometres from Kāpiśī, at the crossing of a small tributary of the Kabul, formed by the junction of the Alishang and Alingar streams; for the rest, he agrees with Hackin in locating Kāpiśī at Begram and Alexandria in the vicinity of Parwān, but he does not explain how these positions are to be reconciled with the statement in Stephanus that Alexandria was in Opiane—to the west of the river—and the statement in Pliny (vi, 92) that Kāpiśī was in Kapisene—to the east of the river.

B. 458. JOHN MARSHALL.

FOUILLES DE SIALK (près de Kashan), 1933, 1934, and 1937. By R. GHIRSHMAN. Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales. Série archéologique. Tome IV, Vol. I. 12½ × 10, pp. viii + 152, pls. 96, ills. 11. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1938. Frs. 200.

In this volume M. Ghirshman describes the earliest settlements at Sialk from the time when the site was first occupied down to about 3000 B.C. The second volume will contain the results of the French Mission's investigations at the two cemeteries near the South Mound, which illustrate the two last civilizations at Sialk belonging to the 2nd and 1st millennia B.C. Sialk has the distinction of being the only place on the Iranian Plateau which was in continuous occupation between the 5th and 3rd millennia B.C., and it is the only spot, therefore, where the student can trace uninterruptedly the evolution of material culture in this region during the all-important period when the foundations of civilization were being laid in the Middle East. Actually the successive layers of habitation brought to light by M. Ghirshman were not all superimposed, one upon the other, on the same site; they are divided over two separate mounds—an earlier one to the north and a later one to the south. This, however, has occasioned no real difficulty in following the continuity of the series, since the strata in the later mound start precisely at the point where those in the earlier one leave off. Among these strata, numbering some twenty in all, the author distinguishes four main Periods—two in the north mound and two in the south, and he describes with admirable lucidity and with a wealth of well chosen illustrations the essential characteristics of each of the Periods, so that the reader has no difficulty in following the marked changes which took place, from age to age, in the habitations of the living; in the disposal of the dead; in pottery, terracotta, and metal ware; in the fashioning of stone, shell, and bone objects; and in seal engraving. The valuable data thus recovered at Sialk have enabled the author to go substantially further

than has hitherto been possible in co-ordinating the materials from other early sites not only in Iran, but in Sistan, Baluchistan, Turkestan, Mesopotamia, and Syria, and determining their relative ages. Thus he shows that Period I at Sialk synchronized with the oldest settlements at Rey and in Mound B at Persepolis, as well as with those in the North Kurgan at Anau. Sialk II he equates with Qoum (so far as that site has yet been excavated), and with Saveh ; Sialk III with Susa I, Giyan V, Mound A at Persepolis, and Hissar I (Damghan). To the same age he also ascribes the lower strata at Bampur in Persian Makran, and the early tombs at Shahi-Tump in Baluchistan. With Sialk IV we are brought down to the period of Jemdet-Nasr, Ur, Cemetery Y at Kish, and the dawn of the early Dynastic period in Mesopotamia, and here we arrive at the first tangible point on which to base the chronology of the preceding cultures of Iran. By working backwards from this date and allowing an average of two and a half generations for each stratum of habitation (of which there are seventeen), M. Ghirshman comes to the conclusion that the oldest settlement at Sialk dates from the latter half of the 5th millennium B.C. This method of reckoning is admittedly not a very reliable one, but it brings us probably much nearer to the truth than Pumpelly's wholly fallacious method of reckoning by the depth of the accumulated débris, which led him to refer the foundation of the Northern Mound at Anau to the 9th millennium B.C. In his final chapter M. Ghirshman discusses in detail the bearing of his new chronological data on the early cultures of Russian Turkestan, of Lower Mesopotamia, of Assyria, and Northern Syria. The collotype plates, plans, and pen-and-ink drawings are in every way as good as one could desire.

B. 459. JOHN MARSHALL.

Miscellaneous

TSCHEREMISSISCHE MÄRCHEN, SAGEN UND ERZÄHLUNGEN. Ed. Ö. BEKE. Mémoires de la société finno-ougrienne, LXXVI. 10 × 6½, pp. viii + 649. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1938. Hinta Smk. 160 or 14s. 2d.

This large volume contains some of the linguistic material collected by Dr. Beke during the Great War from the lips of Russian prisoners in Hungary. It is a work of unwearied diligence. We find here the kind of folklore to which we are accustomed in Russia. Perhaps there are some new features: the murderer giving his property to the girl who exposes him, nr. 27; the castration of the devil's son, nr. 62; ram and goat preparing fire by pushing each other's horns, nr. 73. This storyteller likes to heap up motifs: e.g. the "master-thief" is the "blockhead", two rather inconsistent characteristics, we may think. Motifs apparently popular are repeated in different stories The most readable of the stories are those in the genuine Cheremis tradition which combines good humoured coarseness with complete sexual naïvety.

The Hungarian collector was kind enough to add a German translation which, though not always very happy, is a great help to the understanding of the text. I was surprised to find such a common expression as naleš "he takes", translated very often by the unmeaning "er stellt sich dazu"; later a better translation: "er macht sich daran" is given, though this may be too emphatic. The meaning corresponds to that of Mordvin sajems (cf. *Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen*, 24, 288).

The notation of the texts is phonetic.[1] Varying forms of a word are not completely neglected (woč 89, 10: wot' 93, 10; tilo.č: teleč 154. 8; kü.yə:kuyu. 564, 7–8). Sometimes, however, etymology is combined with phonetics: šoləšte "without stealing", is written šòlə̀št[t]e. 473, 3. In some Cheremis dialects the stress of the word changes; cf. e.g.

[1] The citations here are given mostly in a simpler spelling.

Genetz, Ost-Tscheremissische Sprachstudien, Vorwort. This remarkable feature of the language is not noted by Beke, except in some cases. Can it be that the dialect he studied did not develop these variations, or had lost them? One would like to know how four stressed words in succession (e.g. ila.t sa.j šə.m i.šken, 31, 11; šue.š i.k pö.rt tə.k, 313, 10; čila. mi.ń ti. ja.ľčəm, 566, 7–) are to be pronounced. In some points the dialect is archaic (it keeps the distinction between s, ś, š), but has only traces of the vowel harmony (cf. ondʒəl-goč, seŋgeč, 27, 16).

The syntactical use of the grammatical forms seems quite genuine, but less so the order of the words (e.g. the attribute very often follows the noun). There are also relative phrases, formed with the help of the interrogative pronoun, following the antecedent noun, e.g. toleš paraxot, kudə kuguʒalan satəm koštəkta, 142, 8, " comes a-steamer which to-the-king wares brings." This structure is well known in Europe to-day, but was formerly strange to Finno-ugrian languages. One wonders if the storyteller could read and write Russian as well as speak it.—The 3 pl. of the n-preterite ends here in -nət (very often used, cf. šižənət, 78, 15, üžənət, 36, 10); only sometimes there is a composite formation: šužen ulət, 548, 13; pižən ulət, 631, 9 (and pižənet, 20, 3); užən ulət, 285, 2 (and užənət, 476, 10). The 1 and 2 pl. are always composite (e.g. kolen ulna, 285, 1; nalən ulda, 554, 7). I was surprised and pleased to find the conditional phrase expressed by a particle dak (tak, 485, 5), apparently identical with the curious -tək, described in my grammar, § 197, 3.

There is much grammatical material worth mentioning (e.g. concerning the use of the plural element -lak; the " plural " of the pronoun tudə is nunə, 478, 1, or nunəlak-, 478, 7, or tudəlak-, 477, 15). But it is to be hoped that the author himself with his unsurpassed knowledge of the language will soon summarize the results of his grammatical and lexicographical studies in a short and concise paper.

B. 267. ERNST LEWY.

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B. 526. L. D. BARNETT.

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The Alf Trisar Šuialia
"The Thousand and Twelve Questions"

By E. S. DROWER

THE Manuscripts.—The only copy of this text that I have seen in Europe is Code Sabéen 16 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Berlin has no copy, and as both Lidzbarski and Nöldeke quote from the Paris MS., it was, apparently, the only copy to which they had access. It, however, has not all the texts which compose the miscellany, as I found when I compared it with the rolls in my possession; for, like most of the longer Mandæan books, the Alf Trisar Šuialia is not a single composition, but a collection of writings or fragments under the title of one of the texts incorporated. I have two copies of the roll, and in both the first part of the text has suffered through much recopying. The outer convolutions of a roll suffer more from wear and tear than the inner, and hence one rarely finds an old MS. roll that does not show traces of dilapidation and repair in the earlier portion. When reed huts catch fire, an accident which often occurs, the outer layers alone become charred, as the fire dies down quickly, and the smouldering roll is easily rescued from the ashes.

D.C. 6, the first Alf Trisar Šuialia that came into my hands, contained more fragments than C.S. 16, but was largely recopied in the nineteenth century. The last part was sixteenth century. D.C. 36, acquired in 1939, was in better condition, and according to the priests, contained all the sections. The earlier portion had been recopied by a later hand, but the rewriting and patching had not gone far; the greater part is in the same excellent hand. It is in a good state of preservation, and the date of the copying of the whole was the year A.H. 1088, i.e. approximately A.D. 1684. The roll is 12 inches wide; the writing is not large, and there

are 2740 lines of literary matter. C.S. 16 is entirely nineteenth century.

On comparing my two texts, I find that to each fragment is appended its "pedigree", that is the list of copyists and owners of the texts copied. Sometimes, after some generations of copyists, a common ancestry is established. The fragments are not arranged in the same order, nor is this important, for, as said above, the whole is a miscellany and not a continuous composition. Two of the fragments are clearly degenerated versions of some long-lost original, for many passages are identical, others but slightly varied, but in some cases the sense and matter diverge completely. It is plain that here we have the result of long copying of a MS. so altered by emendations, cuttings, addenda, and notes, that later copyists have treated the two results as separate documents.

The copyist of D.C. 36 notes that he completed his copy of the first fragment, which gives its name to the whole, in Šuštar, in the year A.H. 1088. He copied from the Diwan of his grandfather, whence the pedigree mounts upwards successively to his great-great-grandfather, to Rabbi Yahia Bihram, to R. Mhatam Zihrun, to R. Yahia Sarwan, to R. Sarwan Bihdad, to R. Yahia Adam Baliq Hiwia, to R. Zakia Yuhana, to R. Sarwan Bulbul, to his father, R. Sam Adam, to Bainai bar Zakia, to Ramuia bar 'Qaimat, to Šganda bar Yasmin, and to Zazai ḏ Gawazta, who "copied it from the living ones his fathers".

Now with the names of Ramuia and Zazai we get back to a period of activity in Mandæan literature, when Ramuia put into their present form the collection of ritual prayers in use to-day at all Mandæan religious ceremonies. In the lists of perpetually mentioned dead in the great Dukhrana prayer, the names of Zazai, Ramuia and Šganda follow those of the spirits of light and the patriarchs, a privilege acquired, one supposes, by virtue of their collection and editorship of the writings and prayers. The Alf Trisar Šuialia, then, or

rather the various texts which compose it, were collected into one roll at about the same time and by the same priests. That these texts had already long existed in written form one gathers from Ramuia's note at the end of the seventh book. The liturgy (*'Niania*) is, from internal evidence, obviously much earlier than these. Indeed, I am convinced that a few of the prayers in the *'Niania* are antecedent to any surviving Mandæan books, since the phrasing in them is archaic. For these prayers, most of them mere formulæ pronounced at the most solemn moments of ritual, no modern priest finds an adequate translation. The Alf Trisar Šuialia is of later authorship than the Liturgy ; more than this it is impossible to conclude.

Style.—The style is confused and turgid, manner and matter are severely sacerdotal. Occasionally an author indulges in an imaginative flight, as when the voyage of the spirits of light to the airy city of some great power of light is described. They set the sails of their ships for the Celestial citadel at the gates of which heavenly sentinels perceive their approach through the blue ether and announce the arrival to their lord. Such passages are rare. The stern business of salvation and the immense importance of the observance of every tiny detail of ritual absorb the writers. Repetition becomes tiresome to us, but the Oriental brain is not offended by recurring phrases and images. No one would read the text for pleasure : the priests consult it in dead earnest to find out what they must do "to be clean" after ritual pollution, and to solve other priestly problems. Inconsequent phrases and abrupt digressions abound, some perhaps the result of glosses or patchwork, but possibly merely due to the tortuous mental processes of the authors.

Book I : The Alf Trisar Šuialia

It begins :—

"In the Name of the Life ! Union (*Laufa*) and refreshment of life and a forgiver of sins be there for me N. . . . by means of these good Questions, hidden from (even) the eyes of the

'uthras[1] and not revealed except to those that ask, one by one. . . . . Take care, take care, take care, 360 times take care of these Good Questions which Hibil Ziwa asked of Nbaṭ the Great." Hibil Ziwa[2] chants praises :—"Praised is the Great First Light, the Well of Light, Mother of the twenty-four letters of the alphabet, she who is my Spouse. Praised are the Well and the Great First Palm-Tree,[3] for the Palm-Tree is the Father and the Lord of Greatness was formed from it. Praised is the Occult *Tan(n)a*[4] which dwells within the First Great Occult Wellspring, for from that mystery of fecundation which dwells in the flowing water (*yardna*)[5] proceed all worlds and generations and fruits and grapes, and trees, and fish, and winged birds and the creeping and burrowing creatures that drink of it, male and female. . . . They come into being, they become pregnant, they increase and are multiplied. Praised is Šišlam the Great who is on the bank of the Wellspring and Palm-tree.[6] "I am HE, the Lord of Greatness, Father of the *'Uthri*, and the Well of

[1] *'uthra*, a spirit of life or light.

[2] Hibil Ziwa, the Light-Giver, is a spirit concerned with the care of mankind. In this text he sometimes identified with Yawar Ziwa and with Šišlam (see below).

[3] The *Aina uSindirka*, the Wellspring and the Palmtree, are symbols of fecundity and creation. The Palm-tree represents the male and the Well the female.

[4] *Tana*. Lidzbarski, puzzled by this word, leaves it untranslated when it occurs in *Mandäische Liturgien*. חגגגא "vapour", "reeking", hardly fits, as *tana* (*tanna*) is often associated with images of melting, glowing, or burning. "*thlathma alfia 'uthria d lkifh d tana yatba*" ("300,000 'uthras that sit on the bank of the Tanna") suggests water, as does the above passage. The Assyrian *tannu*, "Gerāth," is a possible clue to the meaning.

[5] Not the Jordan, but all flowing water.

[6] Šišlam Rba, Šišlam the Great, is the archpriest of Mandæan mythology and also the Archbridegroom. In marriage ritual the bridegroom becomes Šišlam and the bride 'Zlat (see below, part VI). The consecration of a priest is called "The Coronation of Šišlam the Great". As Šišlam is the Priest, so 'Zlat his bride, is priestly craft and knowledge, which is roughly the meaning of *Naṣirutha*. A *Naṣurai* is a man skilled in priestly mysteries, exorcism and white magic, and ranks higher than a mere priest, or head-priest. In the passage quoted above, 'Zlat as spouse of Yawar Ziwa is here also identified with Simat Hiia, who is the great Mother Spirit.

Radiance is mine. Praised is the great 'Zlat who is a Well of light, and who is my Spouse, mine, the Lord of Greatness, your Father, father of the *'uṯhri*. Praised is Simat Hiia (Treasure-of-Life), Mother of all worlds, from whom the high, middle and lower (worlds) proceeded, She who is my Spouse, mine, the Lord of Greatness, She whose name is Naṣiruṯha." [1]

Yawar Ziwa then proclaims his intention to make clear "all the mysteries, esoteric and exoteric, because I am Yawar Ziwa, I am the Lord of Greatness, the well-prepared *'uṯhra*, I am every Naṣurai man, for I am the Naṣurai who stands at his devotions and prays this prayer, and offers up this Raising-up. . . . (etc.)."

The method of instruction is question and answer. "He asks about all the Injunctions and about each Mystery . . . about Accident and its Purification [2] about the eight baptisms and about the nine *masiqtas*." The reason is: "priests and Naṣurai that live at the end of the latter age . . . their garments are blackened and not one of them rises to the light because of mischances polluting priestly craft and honour and (because) wisdom departed from the minds of some of them at the consecration of priests."

Many matters may defile the priest beside actual mistakes in ritual, e.g. pollution through women in a state of impurity, omission of or accident to any of the priestly vestments, the unintentional carrying of a purse or moneybag when officiating, the attack of an animal or reptile, and so on. Gravest are mistakes made when performing the major rituals such as the *masiqta*,[3] which call for presence of mind and control of the body over long periods and in difficult circumstances.

[1] *Naṣiruṯha*, see above note.

[2] *Mhita waṣuṯha*, i.e. unwitting transgression and how to become purified after it. *Mhita*, literally "a blow", covers all accidental impurity, and is applied to forms of death which pollute the soul, such as drowning, poison, the attack of a wild beast, and so on.

[3] *Masiqta* is the ceremonial ritual meal performed by priests only which assists the soul to rise from the worlds of matter and death into the worlds of spirit and life. It is performed at intervals after death, and can be translated literally "raising-up".

At the consecration of the priest the *ašwalia* (novice) and his master must be protected, during an initiation and consecration lasting for days, from pollution, which may arise from many causes: e.g. female relatives of either novice or master may invalidate the proceeding by menstruation or childbirth, one of the sacred ritual objects may become injured, the cult-hut may catch fire, one of the assistants or celebrants may die, the novice may make a mistake during his first baptism or *masiqta*, or may receive pollution during the "sixty days of purity", may forget and "uncover his head to the sun", "sleep on a *bastirqa* (woollen robe or rug)" or touch or be touched by an unclean person or animal. In fact the ceremony is threatened with pollution throughout its whole course, and the questions deal with all contingencies. When the *mhita* has been described, the *asutha*, means of purification, is revealed. The word *asutha* here is used in its oldest sense: it is the "wash and be clean" of the Old Testament, as for example, in the story of Naaman and his leprosy, total immersion being an essential part of each *asutha*. For brevity I shall call such immersion with the assistance of a priest "baptism", but it must be understood that the word *maṣbuta* so translated is in no way an initiation, though it is symbolically a rebirth.

Line 599 600 has :—"Then speaks Nbaṭ Rba and says to Nṣab Rba 'O my good child! To these questions which thou hast asked, flowing water (*yardna*) cleanses them all . . . for it is a medicine superior to all means of healing'."

The number of baptisms varies according to the offence, and purification does not always begin and end with baptism. A priest who accidentally pollutes "the water of prayer" is first isolated and then baptized three hundred and sixty times; one who forgets or lets slip his *pandama* (bandage covering the lower face) must be baptized for the same number of times in new garments. Some offences result in disqualification for life.

The questions spread from priests to laymen. What can

purify the souls—otherwise debarred from the worlds of light—of those beheaded, slain by the sword, killed by a wild beast, fallen from a roof or a tree, or those who have died during the honeymoon week ? Purifications extend to children of polluted persons ; for instance, those of a woman who lost her virginity before marriage or a widow remarried must go through sixty baptisms before they become " clean " and at death if uncleansed " will wander in clouds of darkness and sleep in their place ", i.e., not rise to the world of light.

Some questions are not answered without difficulty. Before replying :—" the Lord of Greatness called aloud, sixty cries in one cry, and the three hundred and sixty mysteries cried aloud with him until the mountains quaked and the rivers and the firmaments shouted with them."

This intense emotion precedes a question about the myrtle-ceremony. The questioner is sometimes referred to a higher authority in the realms of light. " To these questions none know the answer unless it be the lovely Kušṭa, the Great Radiance, whose light is lovelier than all worlds ! " " So Šišlam Rba began sublime and lovely devotions and then rose to go, he and his brother, and passed on with him. And they set the sails of their ships towards the Lovely Kušṭa and the Great Light who existed before any human being. . . . Then the guardians who stood at the gates, beholding the brightness of the banner of Šišlam, went in swiftly to Lovely Kušṭa, informing him, the Eldest, Loveliest. . . . And then. . . . Lovely Kušṭa speaks and says to his watchmen ' Bring in the kings (*malkia*, " spirits ") with speed, so that the thoughts of their kingly hearts may find no stumblingblock '. Then they opened the gates into the radiance. Thereupon Šišlam Rba beheld Lovely Kušṭa and he fell upon his face in prostration, he and all the spirits that accompanied him. Then the sovereign rose from his throne and laid his hand upon Šišlam Rba, who is eldest, beloved, and upon Hibil Ziwa whose brightness is great in all the worlds, and the *'uṯras* laid their hands upon them. Thereupon speaks the

Great Light—and Šišlam Rba, king of crowns, like Hibil Ziwa stood at his right hand—and he says to him : 'I know why ye come and what it is that dwells in your thought. Nevertheless, good it is that ye came, and ye may speak.'"

Questions put to Kušṭa include the loss of a tooth during baptism, or the accidental loss of a finger. Kušṭa waves aside the dropped tooth as unimportant, but declares that a priest who loses a finger of the right hand is debarred from further office, though the loss of a finger from the left may be expiated by baptisms. Questions concerning marriage rites and pollutions entail a second voyage in the celestial ships to the abode of the "King of Kings". Here the question of the cleansing of women is considered in detail, and there is further discussion of mistakes in priestly ritual. Much is repetition; but there is a curious comparison between the history of the *yardna* and that of the progress of a child in the womb. At the end the copyist notes that in the year of completion "Shah Suleyman son of Shah Abbās was on the throne and that in that year they set up a toll of a *danqa* on the Bridge of Jar".

Book II : The Tafsir Pag͟hra

This text is sub-divided into other fragments. It is more interesting than the text just summarized and less sacerdotal in tone. Obscure and unskilfully arranged, it deals almost continuously with physical creation.

In the preamble the copyist prays for his male ancestors by name up to his great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great-grandfather, Adam Bihram. He made his copy, he says, from "an ancient diwan, beautiful and not rubbed" in the handwriting of his great-great-grandfather.

The beginning is lost. The physical universe is likened to one vast being. "One world is the head, one the neck" and so on through all the limbs and organs of the body. "And if one of them should be in excess (of the rest) or be diminished, they spoil each other." To each world the light of the others

is visible, for "they are all of light, forming part of One Body, and each one of them that is in the Body is a single world". In a word, the macrocosm repeats the microcosm and the microcosm the macrocosm. All matter is built on the same pattern and plan. The soul (*nišimta*)[1] was formed "in the Body" and "the Body formed the *ruha* (vital entity of an individual). This would seem to contradict Mandæan teaching, which represents the soul as coming down into the body, but it must be remembered that it is the Universal Body that is referred to here. There is an obscure disquisition about the blood of the Universal Body, its fluids, its "winds" or atmospheres, and the sixty-four physical *kiniania*[2] (principles) inherent in it. These are "called the sixty-four sins, so that everyone who has saved himself from these cities (*mahuzia*), sixty-four sins are forgiven him".

The final section of the fragment deals with the soul after death: "So when it (*the soul of the speaker*) has reached the Seven Mysteries, the slave of the Seven Mysteries goes forth towards it and comes and embraces it and says to it, 'Whence camest thou and whither goest thou?' I will say to him, 'I come from the Body which is named the Earth and I go towards the good *Kimṣa* (Consummation). And he says to it, 'Whose servant art thou, and Messenger of whom art thou called?' I will say to him, 'I am a servant of the Beloved Consummation and the Messenger of the Vast Ether-Air.' They will bless it and praise it and say to it, 'All who know this saying shall rise towards the Good Consummation, because it (*i.e. the soul*) sought to control the mysteries of the body.'"

The scribe calls this fragment "The Secret Mystery".

The second fragment elaborates the same theme, but describes not the Universe but the earthly world. "The

[1] According to the Mandæans, the *nišimta* is the incorruptible divine principle in the body, which comes into it from the worlds of light. It is sometimes called the *mana*. The *ruha*, also immaterial, is the principle of physical vitality. Both leave the body at death.

[2] Or "*natures*".

Earth is a Body, and Ether-Air (*Ayar*) is the *nišimta* (soul) within it." Natural features are the limbs, organs and attributes of this Body: "The rivers are veins and blood . . . (etc.) . . . the sky is the head, the copper earth is the legs of the body upon which the Body is supported." The simile is followed in great detail. The description of the male organ and its power and holiness leads to a digression warning the pious who perform acts of procreation to remember that the function is sacred, and that the divine power of creation is lent to them.

"the soul and spirit rejoice at that mystery and when it (the seed) nears the mystery of the womb the soul rejoices and hymns it and says to it 'In the name of the Great Life'. In the day that Radiance was opened and went forth in its radiance, the likeness of the *yardna* was formed in the mirrors, its likeness was formed in the *yardna* of mirrors, and water went forth into the air, it went forth into the radiance and was divided in the air. It was divided in the air and the force of Light was disclosed, and went forth and increased, (yea) it was increased and established. And crown and wreath were woven together[1] they were entwined, the crown and the wreath, and the leaves of the myrtle flourished, flourished the leaves of the myrtle, and trees bore their fruit. And Naṣiruṯha spoke in them, and their purities were intertwined for the *malkas* in utmost perfection."

Priests are enjoined to read this hymn at a marriage.

The next section is concerned with the *Ba*, the fragment of the flesh of the sacrificed dove consumed during the *masiqta*.[2] The *Ba*, says the writer, represents the *ruha*, the earthly spirit.[3] He moralizes about knowledge of the mysteries of existence, and praises those who are instructed in them, especially well-informed priests. The perfect priest must be

[1] The *taghā* (crown) and *klila* (myrtle wreath) are both worn by the priest when officiating; the former is spoken of as male, the latter as female.

[2] See p. 105, note 3.

[3] See note 1, p. 109.

exact about ritual, one who cries aloud the Cry of the Life, arousing priests from their sleep, a true Naṣurai,[1] performing offering, oblations and exorcisms, "a healer in truth, one that is armed with all the sayings, a *ganzibra*[2] that performs and sets (rites) in order. He will be a helper to the people, will expound to the people and will teach and give heed to the soul. He will lead the people in his ways and teach them by admonitions, prayer and praise. And they will call him Teacher and Reformer.[3] And he will be attentive to the Mandæan people, and baptize with a living baptism and ferry over the great sea of Suf[4] those believers who look not upon the defilements of the temples, nor rise up at a rebellious voice, but learn and teach each other. And he will be the servant of his generation."

The writer then turns to the duty of the laity. Women are to be scrupulous about ritual cleanliness; respect and obedience is to be shown to the priests; parents of children must "teach them wisdom" and take them to the rabbi for religious instruction. The ideal man and woman must be complements of each other, like Adam and Eve, Ram and Rud,[5] Šurbai and Šurhabiel,[6] Šum (Shem) and Nuraita,[7] Yahia and Anhar.[8] They are like mountain and valley, sun and moon, crown and wreath, gold and silver, and so on. The fate in the next world of those who are dishonest, those who give false witness, the proud in spirit, the deaf to religious teaching, is described. The sins of women and their punishments for immorality are dealt with, also the crime

[1] See p. 104, note 6.

[2] A head-priest.

[3] Literally "Setter-in-order".

[4] The waters of Death.

[5] Literally "Height" and "River", a pair who peopled the world after human life had been destroyed.

[6] This pair repeopled the earth after another destruction of the human race.

[7] The son of Noah, the ancestor of the Mandæans and his wife.

[8] John the Baptist and his wife.

of remaining single and therefore sterile. Human beings are likened to fruit trees, that must bear fruit or be condemned. Men are exhorted to heed the true teaching. "Ye wring out oil from a pebble! Say not that brass is like gold!" Adam and Eve are taken as an allegory. Adam is the Soul and Eve the Body, Adam the Sky and Eve the Earth. There is a curious dialogue between the earth and the fertilising water: she cries out and fears to lose her virginity, but her complaint is unheeded, the water flows into her, she becomes fruitful and the cycle of life is begun. An extremely involved and turgid passage describes creation in symbolical language. The "outer air", *ayar baraia*, forms above the earth a medium in which spiritual beings exist: it is called the *Qina*, and is here personified. Next were created the personified Ziwa (Radiance) identified with 'Zlat, "who is the Great Garment" and the Mana and his Likeness, Abathur Rama, "whose name is the Great Yardna of White Waters," and other mystical personifications. The favourite image of the Well and Palm-tree recurs:—"the first great secret Wellspring which is the Womb and is the Door of Mysteries, from which *malkia* (spirits of power) were formed.... the great Palm-tree of light." The latter, it is explained, represents the body and all its senses, "sight, scent and beauty." An odd reference to the nose, suggesting a *yoga* exercise, occurs in this section:—"it is called the Nose, and the worlds of light call it Deep Breathing through the Nose, for pure ether is formed in it, and if one drawn (breath) is blocked, all the body is spoilt." Various organs of the human body are personified and assigned to spirits of light. To Simat Hiia, the Mother Spirit, is assigned the *muqra*, living matter, at conception, "she assigns to that *muqra* its place and the cartilages and ligaments and the bones which hold the living tissue together, and the Embryo is its name; the mysteries of the Embryo they call it."

A passage follows which Mandaeans quote as showing that they held the theory of the circulation of the blood long

before it was recognized by Western scientists. Then comes a tedious discussion of the human body. Because the navel-string of a newly-born infant must be tied with a woollen thread, the author digresses into a discourse on the Ewe and the Ram.

They are sacred animals, he says. The ewe is "of the water" and the sacred shirt, stole, drawers, girdle and sandals emanated from her. The *Ba* of the *masiqta* was from her.[1] But the sheep was put to profane uses: "Šamašiel[2] took its tail-fat and produced lamp-oil and illumined the worlds with it," "from its gall they made poison, from its sinews they made sorceries, and from its flesh they made 360 foods of various colours," whilst Ruha made a drum from its skin. Mankind owes much to the ram and the ewe :—" there are none like these two mighty primitive creatures from whom comes everything that fosters physical life. The Ram is 'Papa' and the Ewe 'Aunt', because all worthy women call those that suckle and nurse their children 'aunts'." There is much of the saint of Assisi's affectionate recognition of his kinship to Nature in the stern Mandæan priest :— "the running water is 'Papa' and the earth is 'Mamma' and 'Thou-hast-caused-to-Dwell-and-hast-given-a-Habitation'. And the Air is 'O my Brother', and the Fire 'O my Aunt' and the birds of the firmament 'O my brothers'". He then returns to his discussion of the sacred girdle and its symbolism. Other sects, too, have a holy girdle, the Zoroastrian and the Christian :—" Those that worship the fire, those that hang up a cross, and fondle and kiss the girdle knowing not what they do, are like beasts of burden." The girdle must be of pure sheep's wool, and never made of goat's hair, for the goat is the very opposite of the sheep. She is immodest, pugnacious and lustful; the sheep's tail hangs down, the goat's flaunts that which should be hidden. Passing on to clean and unclean creatures generally, the writer names as

[1] An odd statement, as the *Ba* is always the sacrificed dove. See above.
[2] The Sun spirit.

unclean the hedgehog, the *aubra* [1] (porcupine ?), the *šultana*,[2] the *aṣ'unta* [3] and the domestic cock. The cock is a "son of vileness". "He sought to serve angels [4] and demons and was called by them 'the cock'. In appearance he was like one of themselves, but he was their enemy, and he affixed to himself a comb and screamed a shrill cry at them and startled the *malkia* [5] and their purgatories. So, each time the Sons of Darkness that are beneath the clouds over the skies hear the crow of the cock, they fear and are affrighted."

The snake (*hiwia*) and tortoise (*ga'a*) are also accursed: both lay eggs, and excrete a deadly poison. The *ašlutina* and *aṣluntina* [6] "mourn and bewail". As for the cock, porcupine and hedgehog, "demons fear them, devils (*šidia*) tremble before them and turn from them in aversion." In contrast to these, are nine creatures "formed by a cry from the Right". "They are the dove, the sheep, the 'cock-of-the-fields' (lark ?), the honey-bee, the silkworm, the musk-deer, the crab, the fish and the mare, which is a she-ass dwelling in fire that flew and made war and made the darkness appear gloomy (*lit.* made gloomy the likeness of darkness) and was formed [7] of sublime air." He then treats of the nature of Man and his formation from the very moment of conception. Woman "worships and praises him because she proceeded from him"; *kušṭa*, the plighted troth, alone purifies and preserves their relationship. An extremely

[1] As the *aubra* is classed with the hedgehog and depicted as living in the earth (see below) I take it to be the *ab ibra*, Father-of-Needles, i.e. the porcupine, an animal found in 'Iraq.

[2] The priests say that the *šultana* is a marsh bird with a pouched bill, —the pelican ?

[3] From the context it appears that this is a bird (the owl ?); but in a magic text the exorcist is told to collect them "by the light of their bellies", which sounds like glowworms or fireflies, unless a mistake has crept in.

[4] *malakhia*, angels, are evil spirits to the Mandaean.

[5] *malkia* are spirits of power which may be either good or evil. The *'uthra* is always a good spirit.

[6] A variation of *šultana* and *aṣlunta*. The pelican and the owl ?

[7] *usadrat bayar šania* should be *'stadrat* etc. The legend that the horse is a creature of the elements of fire and air is well known.

obscure passage follows about the building of a house with clay bricks,[1] apparently an allegory of the House of Life. Freemasons may understand some of the allusions and the reference to the "four mysteries of which all things are composed and built up". The mysteries of conception, the growth of an embryo, and the share which the male and female principles of life have in the formation of the child's body are described. The writer says:—"So it (the child) resembles a house. And all the Earth is a House, it is a great House in which mysteries are kept." He then speaks of the Egg, that "house" "from which such different creatures proceed as an eagle, a dove, a toad, a *dinara* (goldfinch ?) and a serpent", and of the mystery of "the Egg which Hibil Ziwa stole from the Place of Lacking and buried in the Earth of Lacking".[2] The text becomes extremely obscure and mystical, dealing with the creation of the physical world and living creatures, with their struggle for survival and the development of life. "The Egg," he says, "is the Mother of all mysteries, and there is nothing more ancient than her formation. . . . The white and red of the egg are the Father and Mother, they are Spirit and Soul, and the shell is their clothing. And this Body is all the Earth. And he said 'The soul which goeth forth from the earth resembles the bird which leaveth the egg'." The parable of Soul and Egg is developed. The nine months of gestation are compared to the nine treasures which give the soul new birth, namely *Kušṭa*,[3] priesthood, baptism, *masiqta*,[4] *dukhrana*,[5] *rahmia* (the daily devotional prayers), the *'ngirtha*,[6] and ninth, the

[1] A figure drawn in the text beside this passage represents what appear to be four rods laid so as to form an oblong.

[2] Ruha, who was brought by Hibil Ziwa from the underworld in a state of pregnancy.

[3] Kušta, the "troth" is the ritual giving of the right hand in fealty during priestly ritual and at marriage.

[4] See note 3, p. 105. The ritual meal for the dead.

[5] The "mentioning" or commemoration of the dead.

[6] Literally the "Letter", the ceremony which takes place when a vial of sacred oil is placed on the dying.

patura ukana ḏ zidqa.[1] The value and meaning of these and the strengthening of the soul by the holy rites are explained. The soul is compared to the moth which issues from the silkworm's cocoon: just as the soul is detained in worlds of darkness for forty-five days after death, so the silkworm is imprisoned in the cocoon until the moment of translation:—"And then she cleaveth it open with her mouth and cometh forth and flieth in the sublime ether. And the Seed and mystery that proceeded from her is wound off and cast into the ground. And so she riseth into the sky and is lapped in air and none know whither is her going. And thus the soul resembleth this (moth), in that she formed a body in which she dwelt like the worm, and when she seeketh to depart from it, she openeth a door for herself and goeth forth like the dove." Again, comparing the silkworm and soul; "And the soul, like it, made its heavens and its earth, just as the cocoon was formed by the thread which issued from the mouth of the worm. For the speech of the worm is of silk, but the speech of the soul is prayer and praise." Then is described how the soul (*nišimta*) leaves the body, making her way out it through a cleft, and how she journeys to the worlds of darkness and unites at last with the *ruha*[2]: "They take each other's hands and fly like one into the sublime ether, because the *ruha* is (now) united with the *nišimta*, and both become as it were one body, just as when the seed and offshoot of two bodies mixed together rejoicing. A Likeness proceeds from them. . . . And so they set forth and fly into the sky and go forward on their way and gaze at the open Gate of Mercies which is in the middle of *Mšunia Kušṭa.*"[3]

[1] Literally, "the platter and the collection of the oblation," in other words, a ritual meal eaten sacramentally for the dead called the *zidqa briḵha*.

[2] See p. 109, note 1.

[3] An ideal world, the replica of this world, situated midway between the material worlds and the worlds of spirit. Here the conception reminds one of the Garden of Yama. Mšunia Kušṭa is only mentioned once in the entire roll.

The ceremonies performed for the dead help the soul onwards. Its life in the world of spirit is described, its religious life and rites, its food, its drink, its surroundings. In *Mšunia Kušta*, the souls of the departed rejoin their ancestors and kinsfolk :—" All *Naṣurai* and Mandæans and perfect women, each individual, will go towards its own kinsfolk and forefathers. And one will question the other that he sees, and they will dwell beneath their own banners and rooftrees and will not be parted from their friends."

The author writes impressively about the honour that should be shown to the *Naṣurai* in this world. Critics should be silent, for he is exempt from fault, and even excessive polygamy on his part is a virtue: even though he marry seventy spouses, "in every seed sown by him there is no darkness." The *Naṣurai* should impart his secrets just before death, but not until he has found a worthy recipient. "Choose one in a thousand and from two thousand choose two." The initiated priest must vow to preserve the secrets inviolate.

Here the Tafsir Pag̱hra ends. The copyist notes that he copied from a Diwan which belonged to his great-great-great-great-grandfather, and that the roll was ancient, worn and torn:

"But I wrote from it and arrived at an approximation and examined it carefully and wrote."

BOOK III: THE *Mhita* AND *Asutha* (ACCIDENTAL IMPURITY AND CLEANSING)

The fragment begins abruptly in the middle of a phrase :—"The novice who sits in the cult-hut."[1] Like Book I, it is concerned with the priesthood and the consecration of priests, but is less obscure. It gives a list of days of the year which are *tabu* and on which no ceremony can be performed. The method of information is the same, one spirit of light questions another higher in rank than itself. The evil effects upon the

[1] In all three copies this is so.

soul of a dead person when mistakes are made in performing the ritual meals are described more closely than in Part I. Much space is devoted to the *masiqta*, and how each step in the ritual affects the departed soul, a theme which re-occurs in Part IV. In both these sections the pouring of the water into the wine (*hamra*), one of the ceremonies of the *masiqta*, is acknowledged to be a fertility rite, for the water is spoken of as semen and the wine as the womb. At the preparation of the sacramental elements in the Nestorian mass there is also unmistakable fertility symbolism just before the water is poured into the wine; thus this Mandæan sidelight is important for comparative religion.

The second part of this book deals with the fate of those who died impure deaths, especially women (at childbirth, in the nuptial bed and so forth); the destiny of souls whose death has been surrounded by the proper observances, and then the duties of a Mandæan, the observance of festivals, and especially what he may and may not do during the five intercalary days (Parwanaiia), during the thirty-six hours of seclusion at the New Year (the Kanšia uZahlia) and at the Hanging of Wreaths at the Little New Year. At the end the copyist notes piously that "there were no names in the Diwan which I have copied."

Book IV

This book also begins in the middle of a sentence, "and they shall rise to their feet." It is mainly concerned with the *masiqta*. Each prayer and action during the *masiqta* represents according to the writer a stage in the freeing of the soul from the ties of matter, the formation of its spiritual body and clothing, the feeding of the *nišimta* and *ruha*, and their union with each other. The first seven *faṭiri* (unleavened sacramental loaves) represent portions of the spiritual body, its *muqra* (living tissue), flesh, bone, muscles, veins, skin and hair. Here there is a break in the text which re-begins

irrelevantly: "whose mother nourishes him and gives him to his father." A gap is evident. The author names and explains the purpose of the sacramental foods and of the water, wine, oil, myrtle, and especially of the unleavened loaves and his explanation carries on the argument of the first fragment. At the eighth *faṭira* :—" all the mysteries (i.e. *of the spiritual body*) are complete: they lie down and the mystery of sleep and death overpower them. When this happens to them, the soul speaks and holds converse with them, the soul speaks to all the mysteries and says to them: At the coming of the Chosen One [1] from the earthly world they come entwined in my Vine, in my Vine they come entwined, and rise and behold the world of light." The ninth *faṭira* represents "the lord and the lady", the male and female principles which cause birth. The tenth *faṭira* symbolizes the birth into new life, "the going forth of *ruha* and *nišimta* from the womb of the Mother." The tortuous allegory employed in a comparison of the ten *faṭiri* with the nine months of gestation and the first month of an infant's life up to baptism is typically Mandæan.[2]

The author passes on to analyse the rituals of *masiqta* called *Dabahatha*,[3] and describes their effect upon the processes of growth and progress of the departed soul. The prayers quoted are from the Mandæan Liturgy.[4] The root-idea of these lengthy discussions of the result of ritual meals upon the soul is in effect, however obscurely phrased, that the soul passes from a semi-material state into a spiritual state, if provided with a new body by a process of rebirth, assisted

[1] This refers, I think, to the *ruha*, which cannot unite with the *nišimta* until the spiritual body has been formed.

[2] A forced allegory at that. The five loaves of the *masiqta* representing the five intercalary days have been doubled. The number five is always predominant in these ritual meals.

[3] A *masiqta* performed in the name of a man and a woman. A ritual roll now in my possession describes the ritual in detail. The association of two sexes in this *masiqta* accentuates the fertility rites for the rebirth of the soul into new life.

[4] Only the first lines are quoted.

to rise, and strengthened by the foods eaten in its name. "And when ye said 'In the House of Life wholesome trees flourish' all the trays and good things (*tabawatha*) are offered to the soul, and she opens her mouth and eats of them." The phrase "opens her mouth" suggests some far relationship with the ceremony known by that name in Egypt. It occurs often. The sub-section ends with pious exhortations.

A third sub-section is on the pattern of Book I, viz., divine question and answer. Šišlam asks Tanna Kasia about the archetypes, the planets which govern the seven days of the week, and about the meaning of the ceremonies associated with the Great New Year, the *Kanšia uZahlia*, the Day of Winter Purification and at the birth of a child. The writer then deals with the sealing of the infant's navel with the iron ring, the *skandola*,[1] which leads to a disquisition on the two seal rings, the iron and the gold, the *skandola* which can be worn by laymen and the ring called the *Šum Yawar* worn by priests.[2] The value and meaning of symbols and signings and sealings are discussed; at death ceremonies, such as the tracing of three concentric circles about a newly-made grave, and its sealing with the *skandola*; then death-ceremonies generally, ablutions of the living after contact with the dead, ritual meals eaten by laymen at the grave and house (*Laufa*), and, again, the *masiqta* of *Dabahatha*. The sacred foods to be consumed at these meals are enumerated, and priests are exhorted to be extremely careful in the performance of all these death-rites.

The book concludes here, and the copier's note states that the fragment is called "the *Paimana* (ordinance) of the *Masiqta d Šitil* and of the *Dabahatha* and of the *Dukhrania*". The list of diwans copied goes back to "a manuscript in the handwriting of Bainia son of Zakia".[3]

[1] The *skandola* is an iron seal ring upon which are engraved a lion, a hornet, and a scorpion within a circle, tail to head. At birth the child's navel is daubed with a paste of crushed myrtle and sealed by this ring.

[2] The priestly ring, of gold, is inscribed "Šum Yawar Ziwa".

[3] It is worthy of note that in this and the other lists of copyists, an occasional scribe is spoken of as *ardikla rama* "lofty master-mason".

Book V *A*

Again a fragment, it begins "And be not vainglorious, for any *'uṯhra* that sins, sins against his fathers". The text is closely related to, and some passages identical with, the *Mhita wAsuṯha* text (p. 117). Celestial dialogue is the medium of conveying instruction, and questions embrace the creation of the universe, the earth, the winds, the worlds of light and darkness, the fate of rebellious priests, unfaithful wives and unworthy *ganzibria*,[1] and the days which are holy, and those on which no ceremony must be performed. In short, this section repeats Book III, and the two only part company towards the end of Book V *A*.

Book V *B*: The Marriage of Šišlam the Great

The subject-matter is entirely distinct from section *A*, although the scribe states both were written "in one phylactery". It begins:—"This is the Wellspring from which *Naṣiruṯha* was formed. . . . And the *'uṯhras* and *malkas* spoke to the Great Father thus: 'Great Father, we beg thee to teach us about the Wellspring ABGD from which spring forth all beasts and cattle and fish and winged fowls, and all sproutings and rivers and rays of light, and air.'"

A diagram of four concentric circles within a square placed beside this passage conveys some esoteric allusion. The opening indicates that the marriage of the arch-priest and arch-bridegroom to 'Zlat the arch-bride is symbolical and linked with universal creativeness and fertility: "'Father, tell us about offspring, and about the First Spouse, and how a spouse should be taken, and, should we have children, by whose witness they should be raised up. . . .'"

The *'uṯhras* ask further about establishing the virginity of a bride, and about unsuccessful marriages: "'. . . and when

[1] Only a *ganzibra* (head priest) may perform the marriage ceremony.

they turn away from each other, who will judge them? Who shall give them judgment against each other?' . . . Then speaks the Great First Father and says. . . . 'O Great Guardian and sublime and remote First Vine! Turn thine eyes, view the Wellspring and the Palm-tree from which Šišlam and 'Zlat proceeded. Behold, these (twain) took each other when their Father sought companionship, they endeavoured to create *'uthras*."

The mystical marriage of Šišlam and 'Zlat is then described as a model of the ceremony. The ring and its purpose, the groomsmen (*šušbania*), the wedding-hut and its furnishings, the bridegroom's position in the wedding-hut, the arrangement of the ritual foods for the marriage *zidqa brikha* [1] are explained. The celebrant is referred to as "the lord of speech". "And on that platter (*patura*) and on that clay table (*tariana*) they shall set up and collect together some of the produce of the date-palm and some of the output of the white sesame plant, and some tail-fat from a sheep, and some sprouting green stuff, and some of that creation which is irrigated by water, and that which flourishes and is of it, all fishes, and something from yonder mountains which is the mystery of the soul.[2] And bring almonds and of the mystery of the wine-cruze (i.e. *hamra*) [3] which is called grapes."

Unluckily this is only a fragment, and only the first part of the wedding ceremony is described. The priest goes to examine the bride to see if her ritual dress, the canopy over the bridal bed and her ritual girdle are in order; he returns to the hut where her deputy, the priests and the bridegroom sit, and the formal "Thy sins are forgiven thee" is pronounced over every person in the hut. The appointed questions and answers given here are valuable, as these find no place in

[1] This ritual wedding-feast is fully described in my *Mandæans of Iraq and Iran*. The meal has the purpose of calling upon the pair the blessing of the ancestors and spirits of Life, and of enduring the couple with fertility.

[2] i.e. Salt. In the *Draša d Yahia*, "Salt is the mystery of the soul."

[3] The water and wine in the wedding-ritual, as in other Mandæan rites, symbolise the fertilization of the female by the male, which is pointed by the presence of a model of the phallus, the *Ṣa*.

the Liturgy. At the moment when the bridegroom takes the right hand of the bride's proxy, he says :—" This *Kušṭa* (Troth) be upon me as a witness that I have taken 'Zlat, daughter of Bihrun, as my plighted wife." All present, and all the spirits of Light and Life are invoked as witnesses of the oath. When this ceremony of the *Kušṭa* is over, the " lord of speech " pronounces a homily and fixes the dowry :— " '. . . the daughter of Bihrun shall be thy consort with (a dowry of) a thousand radiances, and a dinar of gold, and utensils, and saffron, and a myriad articles of merchandize, with the witness of these persons (lit. " souls ") the priests and Mandæans of the hut.' " The response is " *Parzam*,[1] and it shall be well." Seven morsels of the ritual foods are then taken to the bride[2] ; and after a few comments by the spirits of Light, the wedding fragment ends. The list of diwans copied is short ; the first copying is " from an ancient Diwan ".

Book VI

This begins, " Those that sin shall be forgiven. Shed not a tear about him."

Like most of the books fragmentary, it enumerates the precautions that must be taken at death, during the journey to the graveyard and at the graveside, and describes the *Laufa* and other ritual meals for the dead, and the intervals at which these should be eaten. It treats of women who died when pregnant or in childbed and what must be done to purify their souls. An interesting section is concerned with *masiqtas* performed for the still living.[3] Moreover, the

[1] I do not know the precise meaning of *Parzam*. Jastrow (*Dictionary of the Targumim* etc.) has פרזם " to burst open ". Hence, " publish it abroad " ?

[2] There is no account of the most important drinking of the *hamra* by either bride or bridegroom. The best account of the Mandæan wedding, including charming marriage songs, is the *Šarḥ ḏ Qabin ḏ Šišlam Rba*, which I possess.

[3] This practice seems to have been abandoned. Amongst Parsis such anticipatory ceremonies are common.

priest is enjoined to perform the *'Ngirtha*[1] ceremony for the dying. One who refuses this last rite because he may be contaminated is reproved. " A priest who fears for himself " and does not " read the Letter " " shall not enter the *manda* (cult-hut) " nor perform priestly duties. Priests are commanded to write out the Book of Souls (the baptism liturgy), and to copy all the holy books. Mandæans are reminded of their duty towards their priests and that their fees should be paid. The lay inquirer into priestly knowledge is to be " greatly honoured " unless he becomes puffed up. Once again the well-worn admonition to be careful about ritual is given: priests are urged not to despise the minutest detail of ritual, and neither to add nor subtract from it.

A second section deals with a Mandæan who becomes a priest. He is likened to a " newly-hatched chicklet that leaves the egg ", to a man escaping from a hut on fire, and so on. His hair must be unshorn. Again the ceremonies which turn the novice into a fully-fledged priest, the prayers which accompany the rites, and the accidental slips to be avoided are described with comments. Secret prayers are left blank in the MS. At the end is a note by the copyist which is of interest as mentioning another language :— " Then ye shall know, O perfect ones who come after me, that when I copied this Diwan, it was written in the tongue of the owner of this Diwan from which I copied[2] and he said that this Diwan was ancient and obliterated and that he cut off and copied from it as nearly as his capacity and judgment allowed. And he said, ' In this place there was worn away from it an amount of six sections.' And I—O, a slave !—copied from his copy and wrote what mine eyes saw. And Life pardon me. And Life is victorious.

[1] *'Ngirtha* (Letter) see note 5, p. 16. According to priests this rite nowadays is only performed for a dying layman if a *ganzibra* is to be consecrated. See my *Mandæans of Iraq and Iran.*

[2] Kth ansith lhazin diwan hua kdib lišana d mara d hazin diwan d ana ansit minh.

Book VII

This is a short fragment. It begins by warning those who eat of pagan sacrifices, and then returns *ad nauseam* to the consecration of the novice, the ritual which presents more problems than any other. Blank spaces in this book apparently represent passages where the text was illegible or torn. Exhortations are sometimes caustic, as, for example, "Do not give them (*the novices*) useless admonition such as that which Ham Ziwa Rba gave to Yušamin the Peacock. . . . He, Ham Ziwa, sat before the *yardna* and the cult-hut of Yušamin and heaped on him commands and chidings, instructing him." It describes the examination, physical and oral to which the novice is subjected when the priests are gathered together in the cult-hut: "they should see him for themselves, and examine him, separating and putting far (from him) all the books." The novice is expected to know some of the rituals by heart, and it is to his proficiency in these that the passage refers. The investiture and laying on of hands follows. The book ends with a disconnected fragment about creation and the instruction of Mandæans. "And he commanded that the Righteous Elect should name their dwellings (*škinathun*), and that they should be instructed about all the worlds and all the languages of the peoples and nations and creations, and that they should co-operate with them helpfully from whatever they have." In conclusion the words of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat are quoted as he wrote them:—"When I wrote this Diwan it was in many separate pieces. I wrote them down and took these illuminating mysteries one by one and made them into fourteen manuscripts, each one two or three manuscripts. I made them like a phylactery . . . one scroll I made so that it should be kept together."

Here the miscellany ends. D.C. 26, however, has an eighth book, the Haran Gawaitha. It is a separate work, and usually so treated by copyists. I have sketched its contents in my

book *The Mandæans of 'Iraq and Iran.* It is a so-called "history" of the race, and represents them as coming into 'Iraq from a mountainous district, the Ṭura ḏ Madai (mountains of Media) and mentions two leaders named Ardaban (Artaban ?) removed from each other by a considerable period of time. Corrupt and fragmentary as it is, it is certainly important evidence when considering the origins of the Mandæans and their religious system.

Music: The Priceless Jewel

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

(Concluded from p. 30)

§ 4

THE DISAGREEMENT OF PEOPLE ABOUT SINGING

People disagree about [the propriety of] singing (*ghinā'*). And most of the people of Al-Ḥijāz permit it,[1] whilst most of the people of Al-'Irāq abhor it.[2] And one argument of those who permit it is that it has its origin in poetry, [an art] which the Prophet (May Allāh bless him and give him peace) commended; he incited to it, and urged his Companions to it, and found help in it against the unbelievers. And he said to Ḥassān [ibn Thābit, d. 674], " Pour out [an incitement to] the raid upon the Banū 'Abd Manāf for, by Allāh, your poetry is more potent against them than the falling of arrows in the utter darkness of the late night." And it [i.e. poetry], is the register (*dīwān*) of the Arabs, and declares their precepts, and is the witness of their noble actions.

And most of the poetry of Ḥassān ibn Thābit is sung. And Faraj ibn Sallām says, [Al-'Abbās ibn Faraj] al-Rīyāshī [d. 874] informed me, on the authority of Al-Aṣma'ī [d. *c.* 831], he said, "Ḥassān ibn Thābit was present at a banquet given by a man of the Anṣār, and he [i.e. Ḥassān] had lost his sight. And with him was his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān. And whenever food was placed before them Ḥassān said to his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān, ' Is it food for one hand or two hands ? ' when he [his son] would say to him, ' It is food for one hand,' until the roast was placed before him when he said to him,

[1] Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 996) said, " The people of Al-Ḥijāz did not cease to listen to singing even in the most excellent of the days of the year." *Qūt al-qulūb*, iii, 91, Al-Ghazālī, op. cit., ii, 183, *JRAS.* (1901), 202.

[2] Abu'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī (d. 1058) said, " All the people of Kūfa . . . made listening to singing a sin." Al-Ghazālī, loc. cit.

'This is food for two hands.' Then the shaikh [i.e. Ḥassān] closed his hand.

And when the food was removed, a singing-girl (*qaina*) began singing in the poetry of Ḥassān[1]:

> Look, my friend, in the Gate of Damascus: do you
> Espie, beyond the gravelly plain,[2]
> When the camels of a frousy-haired woman descend from
> The stall beyond the sand hills and the slopes?

Then Ḥassān began weeping and 'Abd al-Raḥmān was beckoning the singing-girl to repeat it. Al-Aṣma'ī says, I do not know what it was that pleased 'Abd al-Raḥmān in his father's weeping."[3]

And [the Prophet's favourite wife] 'Ā'isha [d. 678] (May Allāh accept her) said, "Teach your children poetry which will sweeten their tongues."[4] And the Prophet (May Allāh bless him and give him peace) had Al-Sharīd[5] mounted behind him, and he asked him to recite some of the poetry of Umayya [ibn Abi'l-Ṣalt, d. 630]. So he recited a hundred rhymes. And he [the Prophet] was saying "Well done," thinking them good. Then, when the satire (*qadḥ*) in the poetry, and the talking about it wearied them, they said, "The poetry is fine and we do not see any harm in a beautiful melody (*laḥn*)."[6]

And they [the Arabs] permitted that [meaning the use of melodies] in the *Qur'ān* and in the call to prayer (*adhān*). And if melodies are to be disliked (*makrūh*), then the *Qur'ān* and the call to prayer are the most worthy to be freed from

[1] The text is corrupt. I have used that of the *Aghānī* (Sāsī edit.), xvi, 15. Cf. the line on p. 14.

[2] [[illegible] is the gravelly plain south of Damascus. According to Yāqūt it comprises modern Transjordania. *Dr. F. Krenkow.*]

[3] He wept because he was blind. Al-Mubarrad, *Al-kāmil*, p. 388.

[4] 'Ā'isha has handed down several traditions on the permissibility of audition. Al-Ghazālī, op. cit., ii, 189. *JRAS.* (1901), pp. 224–6. Al-Hujwīrī, op. cit., p. 401. Robson, *Tracts*, pp. 78–9.

[5] [He is Ibn Suwaid al-Thaqafī. *Dr. F. Krenkow.*]

[6] Al-Sharīd was evidently *singing* not *reciting*.

them. And if they are not to be disliked, then poetry is most in need of them [i.e. melodies] for the sake of establishing the metre (*wazn*), and to distinguish it from ordinary speech.[1] And what difference is there between a man reciting freely

Do you recognize the tract in the rushing of the torrents ?

and raising his voice (*ṣaut*) in it by [musical] improvising (*murtajal*) ? And the Arabs only made poetry metrical (*mauzūn*) so as to draw out the voice in it and for singing (*dandana*).[2] And if it were not for that, versified poetry (*al-shi'r al-manẓūm*) would be like narrative prose.

And they argue in regard to the permissibility of singing (*ghinā'*), and its approval, from the saying of the Prophet (May Allāh bless him and give him peace) to 'Ā'isha, "Did you lead the young maid to her espoused ?" She said, "Yes." He said, "And did you send someone with her who could sing ?" She said, "No." He said, "Or did you not know that the Anṣār are people who delight in the love song (*ghazal*) ? Would that you had sent someone with her who could say :—

> We have come to you, we have come to you,
> Salute us and we will salute you.
> And if it were not for the tawny grain.
> We would not alight in your valley."

And they [also] argue from the tradition of 'Abdallāh ibn ['Abdallāh ibn] Uwais [d. 783–4], cousin of Mālik ibn Anas,[3] and he was one of the most excellent pupils of Al-Zuhrī, he said, "The Prophet (May Allāh bless him and give him peace) passed by a slave-girl (*jāriya*) in the shade of a gourd [growing on a trellis],[4] and she was singing :—

[1] From time immemorial the Arabs have scanned their verse by means of melodic phrases. In the Maghrib to-day there are melodies for establishing the metrical form of verses which are called *naghamāt al-buḥūr*.

[2] See Schiaparelli, *Vocabulista in Arabico*, s v.

[3] [The text has Mālik ibn 'Auf, but it is a mistake for Mālik ibn Anas. *Dr. F. Krenkow.*]

[4] *Ẓill qāri'* may be a place name. [As a place name it is unlikely. If it is not "in the shade of a gourd" it may be في ظل فارع "in the shade of a tall date palm." *Dr. F. Krenkow.*]

Is there upon me (Woe to you)
Any crime if I am gay ?

And the Prophet (May Allāh bless him and give him peace) said, ' Allāh willing, there is no crime.' "

And that to which most people do not object is the singing of the *nasb*, which is the singing of travellers (*ghinā' al-rukbān*). And 'Abdallāh ibn al-Mubārak [d. 797–8] relates, on the authority of Usāma ibn Zaid, on the authority of Zaid ibn Aslam, on the authority of his father, on the authority of 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar [d. 693], on the authority of his father, he said, " There passed by us 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb [d. 644] when I and 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar [ibn al-Khaṭṭāb] were singing the *nasb*. Then he [i.e. 'Umar] said, ' Repeat it to me.' So we repeated it to him. Then he said, ' You are like the two asses of Al-'Ibādī'. And it was said to him, ' Which of the two asses is the worse ? ' He said [pointing to each separately] ' This one and that one '."

And Anas ibn Mālik [d. c. 711–12] heard his brother Al-Barā' ibn Mālik singing. He said to him, " What is this ? " He [Al-Barā'] said, " Arabian verses in the *nasb*." [1]

And one of the traditions of Al-Ḥimmānī [d. 842–3] [2] avers, on the authority of Ḥammād ibn Zaid [d. 795–6], on the authority of Sulaimān ibn Yasār, he said, " I saw Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ [d. c. 670–7] in a dwelling between Mecca and Al-Medīna, and there had been placed for him a praying mat. He lay on his back on it, and had placed one of his feet over the other, and was singing. Then I said to him, ' Allāh forbid, O Abū Isḥāq, that you should do the like of this, and you a pilgrim.' He said, ' O son of my brother, and do you not listen to me talking folly ? ' " [3]

[1] Al-Barā' ibn Mālik was camel-driver to the Prophet, who used to make him sing the caravan-song (*hudā'*) for the men. It was Anjusha who sang it for the women.

[2] [The text has Al-Jamānī, but Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥimmānī is intended.—*Dr. F. Krenkow.*]

[3] The Arabic word means " foul, evil, abominable talk ".

And one of the traditions of Al-Mufaḍḍal, on the authority of Qurra ibn Khālid [d. 772] on the authority of 'Abdallāh ibn Yaḥyā,[1] is that 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said to Al-Nābighat al-Ja'dī [d. c. 680–692], "Let me hear some of your singing (*ghinā'*), for which Allāh forgave you." Then he let him hear a phrase (*kalima*) of it. (p. 179.) He [i.e. 'Umar] said, "And are you its author?" He [i.e. Nābigha] said, "Yes." He said, "It is a long time since you sang it behind the camels of Al-Khaṭṭāb."[2]

'Āṣim [ibn 'Umar], on the authority of Ibn Juraij [d. 767], said, "I asked 'Aṭā' [ibn Abī Rabāḥ, d. 732] about reciting the *Qur'ān* to the melodies (*alḥān*) of singing (*ghinā'*) and of the caravan song (*ḥudā'*). He said, "What harm is there in that, O son of my brother?"[3]

And 'Ubaid ibn Umair [Abū 'Āṣim] al-Laithī,[4] relates that David the Prophet (Upon him be peace) had a cithara (*mi'zafa*) on which he would play when he read the psalms, in order that the *jinn*, and men, and birds might gather to him. Then he wept, and those around him wept also. And the People of the Book [i.e. the Jews] find this in their books.[5]

And the proof of those who dislike singing (*ghinā'*) is, they say, that it inflames the heart, and makes the intellect restive, and weakens the gentle character, and incites to sport, and urges to pleasure, and fundamentally is vanity. And they interpret concerning that the saying of Allāh, the Great and Glorious, "And of mankind are those who purchase a ludicrous story, in order that they may lead astray

[1] [The text has Qurra b. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā, but it is corrupt. We do not know the grandfather of Qurra. Probably the text should read عن عبدالله بن يحيى instead of بن عبدالله بن يحيى.—*Dr. F. Krenkow.*]

[2] It must have been a *naṣb* or a *ḥudā'* that he sang.

[3] Cf. the story of Ibn Juraij, 'Aṭā, and Ibn Suraij the singer in the *Aghānī*, i, pp. 123, 157.

[4] [He was a story-teller (*qaṣṣ*) in Al-Medīna at the time of the Prophet.—*Dr. F. Krenkow.*]

[5] The only direct reference to the musical life of David in the O.T. is in 1 *Samuel*, xxvi, 23, but there are references in the Talmud.

from the path of Allāh without knowledge and take it for mockery."[1] And they err in their interpretation [that "a ludicrous story" refers to singing].[2] This verse was revealed only about people who were purchasing story books of biographies and tales of the ancients, and compared these with the *Qur'ān* and said that they are better than it. But he who listens to singing (*ghinā'*) does not take the verses of Allāh [in the *Qur'ān*] for mockery. And the most just view in this matter is that its medium (*sabīl*) is poetry. So its good is good and its evil is evil.[3]

And Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mundhir al-Ḥizāmī [d. 850–1][4] states that Ibn Jāmi' al-Sahmī [d. *c.* 803] arrived in Mecca with much money, and he distributed it amongst the infirm of its inhabitants. And Sufyān ibn 'Uyaina [d. 814] said, "I hear that this man of the Sahm has arrived with much money." They said, "Yes." He said, "Then how did he obtain it?" They said, "He sang to kings and they gifted it."[5] He said, "What did he sing to them?" They said, "Poetry." He said, "Then how does he say it?" Then one of his young pupils said:—

> I run around The House[6] with those who run around,
> And I raise of my mantle what trailed.

He said, "May Allāh bless you. How beautiful is what he says. Then what next does he say?" [The pupil said]:—

> And I prostrate myself at night 'till morn,
> And I recite from the clear revelations.[7]

[1] *Sura*, xxxi, 5.

[2] Al Ghazālī, ii, 194, says that Ibn Mas'ūd (d. 652–3), Al-Nakha'ī (d. 714–15) and Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 728) held the opinion that "a ludicrous story" refers to singing.

[3] Meaning, if the verses are moral the singing is moral, and if the verses are immoral, the singing is immoral.

[4] [The text has al-Khuzā'ī, but it should be al-Ḥizāmī.—*Dr. F. Krenkow.*]

[5] At the court of the Caliph Al-Hādī (d. 786) Ibn Jāmi' was presented with 30,000 pieces of gold, with which he retired to Mecca. See his life in the *Aghānī*, vi, 65.

[6] Meaning the Ka'ba.

[7] Meaning the *Qur'ān*.

He said, "Good. And may Allāh also do good to him. What next does he say?" [The pupil said]:—

> Perhaps he who dispelled anxiety from Joseph[1]
> Will constrain for me the mistress of the litter.

He said, "Stop, stop. He has spoiled at the end what he had made good at the beginning." Do you not discern in [the argument of] Sufyān ibn 'Uyaina (May Allāh have mercy on him) that what was good in his verse (*qaul*) was [that which made the singing] good, and what was evil was [that which made the singing] evil?

And some people object to singing (*ghinā'*) from the point of view of abstinence from the world and its pleasures, as some of them object to pleasures, to the wearing of the [coat called the] *'abā'*, and are averse to white flour (*ḥuwārrī*), and to eating ptisan (*kashkāb*),[2] and the preferring of barley to wheat, not by way of prohibition, for that is a good thing and a right practice.

And the permissible is only what Allāh permits, and the forbidden what Allāh forbids. Allāh Most High says, "Say not that, which your tongues falsely describe, 'This is lawful, and that is unlawful,' that you may fabricate a lie against Allāh. Verily those who fabricate a lie against Allāh shall not prosper."[3]

Sometimes a man may be ignorant of singing (*ghinā'*), or may feign ignorance of it. In consequence he does not enjoin it nor forbid it. A man said to [the theologian] Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [d. 728], "What do you hold regarding singing (*ghinā'*) O Abū Sa'īd?" He said, "Singing is good help in obedience to Allāh. A man observes through it the ties of kinship and supports his friend." The man said, "It was not about this that I was asking you." He [Al-Ḥasan] said, "And about what were you asking me?" He [the questioner]

[1] It refers to the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. See *Sūra*, xii.
[2] The text has *kashkār*.
[3] *Sura*, xvi, 117.

said, "Whether a man should sing." He [Al-Ḥasan] said, "And how should he sing?" Then the man [who questioned him] began twisting his mouth and blowing through his nostrils. And Al-Ḥasan said, "By Allāh, O son of my brother, I did not think that any intelligent man would ever do this with himself." And [it is evident that] Al-Ḥasan only objected to distorting the face and deforming the mouth. And if he had objected to singing, then it would only have been in the way of the people of Al-'Irāq, and we have already mentioned that they dislike it.

And Isḥāq ibn 'Ammār said, Abu'l-Mughallith informed me, the authority of Abu'l-Ḥarith, he said, "There was a disagreement about singing (*ghinā'*) in the presence of Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm the governor of Mecca, and he sent for Ibn Juraij and 'Amr[1] ibn 'Ubaid [d. 762]. When these two came he asked them [about singing]. Ibn Juraij said, 'There is no harm in it. I was with 'Aṭā' ibn Abī Rabāḥ at the circumcision of his son when Ibn Suraij [d. *c.* 726] the singer was with him. When he sang, he [i.e. 'Aṭā'] did not say to him, Be silent, and when he stopped he did not say, Sing. [Yet] when barbarisms in speech (*laḥn*) occurred, he rebuked him.'[2] And 'Amr ibn 'Ubaid said, 'Does not Allāh say, One does not utter a word except [that there is] with him an observer, ready [to note it].[3] So which of them will note the singing (*ghinā'*), he who is on the right hand or he who is on the left?'[4] Ibn Juraij said, 'Neither of them will note it, because it is vanity (*laghw*), like the talk of the people about the stories of pre-Islāmic days and the reciting of their poetry.'"

And Isḥāq [ibn 'Ammār] said, And Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd al-Zuhrī [the traditionist, d. 801] informed me, he said,

[1] The text has 'Umar.

[2] Cf. the stories in the *Aghānī*, i, pp. 95, 121.

[3] *Sūra*, l, 17.

[4] These are the two angels, sitting on the right and left of everyone, taking an account of everything. *Sūra*, l, 17.

"Abū Yūsuf [Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm] the judge said to me, 'How wonderful is your decision, O people of Al-Medīna, in regard to these songs (*aghānī*): There is not a noble or commoner who forbids them.' He [i.e. Al-Zuhrī] said, 'Then I became angry and said, May Allāh curse you, O people of Al-'Irāq, how palpable is your ignorance and how incorrect your opinion. When I see anyone listening to singing (*ghinā'*) there appears in him what is manifest in your foolish ones. These are they who partake of intoxicating liquor. Then one neglects his prayer and divorces his wife, and [another] slanders the chaste women among his neighbours, and disbelieves in his Lord.' (p. 180.) [And Abū Yūsuf said,] 'Then where is the point?'[1] [And he (Al-Zuhrī) said,] 'Whoever chooses poetry to be excellent consequently chooses a fault to be good. Then it reacts upon him, so that it causes excitement and merriment. Then [in consequence] he forgives faults and bestows desired things.' Then Abū Yūsuf said, 'You have put me to silence,' and he made no reply."

And Isḥāq [ibn 'Ammār] said, Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd al-Zuhrī relates, "[The Caliph Hārūn] al-Rashīd said to me, 'Who is there in Al-Medīna who forbids singing (*ghinā'*)?' I said, 'He whom Allāh makes shame his possession.' He said, 'I hear that Mālik ibn Anas [d. 795] forbids it.' I said, 'O Commander of the Faithful, and has Mālik the power to forbid and to permit? By Allāh, that [power] did not belong to your cousin Muḥammad (May Allāh bless him and give him peace), save that it was revealed from his Lord. So, who gave this [power] to Mālik? And I have the evidence of my father that he heard Mālik at the wedding of Ibn Ḥanẓalat al-Ghasīl singing:—

> O Sulaima, are you determined to depart,
> Then where will be the meeting her, O where?

And if I had heard Mālik condemning it,[2] and I had the power,

[1] Lit. "Then where is this from this?"
[2] Meaning "singing".

I would improve his education.' He [i.e. the narrator] said, Then [Hārūn] al-Rashīd smiled." [1]

And on the authority of Abū Shu'aib al-Ḥarrānī, on the authority of Ja'far ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaisan, on the authority of his father, he said, "'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar [ibn al-Khaṭṭāb] was admiring [2] 'Abdallāh ibn Ja'far [d. 706 or 709]. [3] . . . He said [pointing to a Persian lute (*barbaṭ*)], 'O Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, what do you think this is? If your opinion be right, the slave-girl is yours.' He said, 'I do not see myself failing to get her. It is a Greek balance (*mīzān Rūmī*).' Then 'Abdallāh ibn Ja'far laughed and said, 'You are right. This is a balance in which speech is weighed, so the slave-girl is yours.' Then he said, 'Bring her.' And she sang:

> O the longing for the safe town, [4]
> And for the camp between the Zamzam and the Ḥajūn.

Then he said to him, 'Do you see anything wrong [in this]?' He said, 'Is there any more than this?' He said, 'No.' He said, 'Then I do not see anything wrong in this.'"

And 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar heard Ibn Muḥriz [d. *c.* 715] [5] singing:—

> If she were to change her highest dwellings for the lowest,
> And her lowest one was towering up,
> I would know her abode, from what my ribs
> In me endured on account of her people formerly.

Then 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar said to him, "Say Allāh willing." He [Ibn Muḥriz] said, "It would spoil the meaning." He ['Abdallāh] said, "There is no good in any meaning which the 'Allāh willing' would spoil."

[1] Cf. the story in the *Aghānī*, ii, 238. According to the *Aghānī*, Mālik, as a youth, wished to become a professional singer but was diverted from this by his mother.

[2] Lit. "loving."

[3] There is a hiatus here. Evidently the *barbaṭ* was mentioned in the original. See Robson and Farmer, op. cit., pp. 6–7.

[4] Meaning Mecca.

[5] Ibn Muḥriz was, with Ibn Misjaḥ, one of the founders of Arabian music theory. See my article "Mūsīqī" in the *Ency. of Islām*, iii, pp. 749 et seq., and my *History of Arabian Music*, pp. 70, 78.

Muḥammad ibn Zakariyā al-Ghalābī[1] informed me in Al-Baṣra, he said, Ibn al-Sharafī informed me, on the authority of Al-Aṣma'ī, he said, "[The Caliph] 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz [d. 720] heard a traveller (*rākib*) singing as he went :—

Were it not for three things in the life of man,
By your grandfather, I would care not when my [last] sick visitors stood up.
One of them is the coming of the amorous women with ruddy wine
Which foams when mixed with water :
And my wheeling again when the battle calls,
Swerving like a wolf in the sunset darkness :
And the shortening of the cloudy day, delightful gloom,
With a damsel stretched out neath the spreading tent.

Then said 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, 'As for me, if it were not for three things I would not care when my [last] sick visitors stood up. [They are] that I should go out to the night raid, and that I share out with equity, and that I be just in legal judgment.' "[2]

And Jarīr al-Madanī[3] said, "I passed by Al-Aslamī al-'Ābid, and he was in the Mosque of the Apostle of Allāh (May Allāh bless him and give him peace), and I saluted him. Then he beckoned me and motioned me to sit down. So I sat. Then when he had greeted me, he took my hand and pointed to my throat and said, 'How is it ?' I said, 'Better than ever.' He said, 'I wish that you would do me a favour and let me hear :—

O my people, connection with whom is cut off,
When they were distant and you were not to be blamed.
The spring camp is without Umāma,
'Tis but the abode of the *jinn*[4] and mere traces [of the past].

[1] [The text has 'Alāqī which is most likely an error for Ghalābī. See Sam'ānī, *Al-ansāb*, p. 413.—*Dr. F. Krenkow.*]

[2] The point in this is that whilst the singer praises "wine, war, and woman" in his singing, the Caliph prefers "war, truth, and justice" as his ideals. This ruler was fond of music in his early days and was even claimed as the author of songs. See *Aghānī*, viii, pp. 144, 152, 153.

[3] [Although all the editions have Jarīr, I believe that the name is Ḥuraiz. —*Dr. F. Krenkow.*]

[4] The text has *ma'āzif* ("stringed instruments"). See *Ency. of Islām*, iii, 528. The sound of the *jinn* is called *'azīf* and the instrument producing this is the *mi'zaf*.

I said, '[Certainly] if you wish it.' He said [as if on second thoughts], 'Some other time, if Allāh wills.' "

Abū 'Abdallāh al-Marwazī related in Mecca in the Holy Mosque, he said, " Ḥasan and Suwaid,[1] the companions of ['Abdallāh] ibn al-Mubārak [d. 797], said that when Ibn al-Mubārak went to Syria as a warrior of Islām (*murābiṭ*), we went with him. And when the people saw his energy, every day in the battle throng (*al-nafīr*), and the raid, and the night attack, he turned to us and said, 'We belong to Allāh, and to him we return, in spite of the lives which we have wasted, and the days and nights which we have spent in the study of poetry, and our abandoning here the gates of Paradise open.' " He [i.e. one of the narrators] said, " Then when we were marching with him in the streets of Al-Maṣṣīṣa, we suddenly met a drunken man who had raised his voice singing :—

Love has weakened me and I am the abject one.
And there is no way of obtaining that which for I long.

Then producing from his sleeve a note-book (*barnāmaj*) he wrote down the verse. Then we said to him, 'Do you write a verse of poetry which you have heard from a drunken man ?' He said, 'Have you never heard the proverb, Many a jewel is in the dunghill ?' "

He [i.e. the narrator] said, " Al-Auqaṣ al-Makhzūmī[2] was made judge of Mecca. There was never seen the like of him virtue and capability. And one night, whilst he was sleeping in his upper room, there passed by a drunken man who was singing and pronouncing faultily (*laḥḥana*) in his singing. And Al-Makhzūmī looked out and said, 'O you there, you have been drinking what is forbidden, and you have awakened the sleepers, and you have been singing faultily. Take it from me [and] then correct it accordingly.' "

(p. 181.) And Al-Auqaṣ al-Makhzūmī said, " My mother

[1] The latter is Suwaid b. Naṣr al-Marwazī (d. 854–5). The former is possibly Ḥassān (not Ḥasan) b. 'Aṭiya (d. ca. 844–55).

[2] He is Abū Khālid Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hishām (d. 785–6).

said to me, 'O my son, you have been created in a form in which it is not right for you to associate with the youths [who spend their time] in the houses of the singing-girls. So attend to religion, for by it Allāh elevates the low-minded and rectifies imperfection.' And Allāh benefited me by her advice (*qaul*)."

And 'Abbās ibn al-Mufaḍḍal the judge of Al-Medīna related, he said, Al-Zubair ibn Bakkār [d. 870] the judge of Mecca informed me, on the authority of Muṣ'ab ibn 'Abdallāh, he said, "Al-Sha'bī [d. 722] [1] visited Bishr ibn Marwān [d. 694], who was governor of Al-'Irāq for his brother [the Caliph] 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān [d. 705].[2] And with him was a slave-girl [who had] in her bosom a lute ('*ūd*). And when Al-Sha'bī entered, he [i.e. Bishr] commanded her to put down the lute. And Sha'bī said to him, 'It is not proper for a prince to be ashamed of his slave.' He said, 'You are right.' Then he said to the slave-girl, 'Give us what you have [of music].' Then she took her lute and sang :—

> And of what grieves me is that on the day she left,
> She turned her back, and the tear in her eye was gathering.
> Then when she turned again from a distance, with a glance
> Towards me, the eye sockets betrayed it.

Then Al-Sha'bī said, 'The smaller of the two [strings of the lute], meaning the *zīr* [string], is the higher (*kayyis*).' Then he said, 'O you there, loosen your *bamm* [string] and tighten your *zīr* [string].[3] Then Bishr said to him, 'And how did you know it ?' [4] He said, 'I know by the sound (*lit.* use) of them

[1] Al-Sha'bī is quoted by Abu'l-Tayyib al-Ṭabarī, together with Abū Ḥanīfa, Sufyān al-Thaurī, and Al-Nakha'ī, as being averse to singing. Al-Ghazālī, op. cit., ii, 183. *JRAS.* (1901), p. 202.

[2] Bishr ibn Marwān was a patron of music and when he became governor of Al-'Irāq he rescinded the edict of Khālid ibn 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, the previous governor, which had interdicted music. *Aghānī*, ii, 119–120.

[3] The highest and lowest strings of the lute and similar instruments were the *zīr* and the *bamm*. The passage implies that it was a two-stringed lute ('*ūd*), but such an instrument has not been recorded either descriptively or iconographically elsewhere. It is more likely to have been a *rubāb* or *ṭunbūr*.

[4] Meaning, "How did you know that the pitches of the notes were false ?"

[when struck] together.' He [i.e. Bishr] said, 'You are right. And he whose surmise is of no advantage to him, his certainty is of no profit.' "[1]

And it is related on the authority of Abū 'Abdallāh al-Baṣrī, he said, " A man sang a song (*ṣaut*) in the Holy Mosque (and he was lying on his back) whilst a man of the Quraish was praying near him. And the servants of the mosque heard him and said, 'O enemy of Allāh, are you singing in the Holy Mosque?' So they took him to the captain of the guard. And the Quraishite shortened his prayer and made the salutation, and followed him [the man who had been singing] and said to the captain of the guard, 'May Allāh preserve thee, they have lied against him, he was only declaiming (*yaqrā'*).' Then he [the captain] said, 'O ye reprobates, do you bring me a man who was declaiming the *Qur'ān*, asserting that he was singing? Let him go.' And when they had let him go, the Quraishite said [to the man who had been singing], 'By Allāh, if it had not been that you did well and nobly [in your singing], I would not have testified for you. Go in peace.' "

And Abū Ḥanīfa [d. 767] had a neighbour belonging to the Weighers who was in debt through drink. And Abū Ḥanīfa used to spend the night erect [in prayer], and his neighbour, the weigher, used to spend it in drinking, and singing in his drinking :—

> They have abandoned me. But what brave one did they abandon
> For the day of combat and the defence of the frontiers?

And the nightwatchmen arrested him and he fell into prison. And Abū Ḥanīfa missed his voice (*ṣaut*) and felt lonely without it. Then he said to his people, " What has become of our neighbour the weigher?" They said, " The watchmen have taken him and he is in prison." So, when it was morning,

[1] Bishr's rejoinder appears to be sheer banter. A somewhat similar story is told in the *Aghānī* (ii, 120) about the minstrel Ḥunain al-Ḥīrī in the presence of Bishr and Al-Sha'bī.

Abū Ḥanīfa placed the *ṭawīla* [1] on his head and went out until he arrived at the gate of [Prince] 'Īsā ibn Mūsā [al-Hāshimī].[2] Then he asked leave to enter, which was granted immediately. And Abū Ḥanīfa was not in the habit of appearing before royalty [3] and 'Īsā [who was a prince] approached him and said, "What has brought you, O Abū Ḥanīfa?" He said, "May Allāh prosper the Prince; on such and such a night, the watchmen of the Prince arrested a neighbour of mine belonging to the Weighers and he has fallen into prison." So, out of respect for Abū Ḥanīfa, 'Īsā commanded that everyone who had been taken on that night be set free. Then [after he had been released] the neighbour came to Abū Ḥanīfa to thank him. And when Abū Ḥanīfa saw him he said, hinting at his verse (*qaṣīda*), "We caused you to be abandoned O brave one." He [the neighbour] said, "No, by Allāh, but as for you, you have blessed and preserved." [4]

Al-Aṣma'ī said, "A man of Al-'Irāq came to Al-Medīna with a bale of 'Irāqian veils. And he sold all of them except the black ones. Then he complained about that to [the jurist] Al-Dārimī [d. 869]. And he [Al-Dārimī] had become an ascetic, and had given up poetry, and attended assiduously the mosque. Then he [Al-Dārimī] said to him, 'What will you do for me if I devise a means whereby you sell all of them at your own price?' He said, 'What do you want?' Then Al-Dārimī took the garments of asceticism [that he was wearing] and threw them aside, and returned to his former habits and recited poetry. Then he took him [i.e. the man of Al-'Irāq] to a good friend of his among the [professional] singers, and he sang about it.[5] And the poetry was :—

[1] The tall *qalansuwa* hat worn by legists.

[2] The aversion of 'Īsā to music is testified in the *Aghānī*, xv, 33.

[3] Lit. "kings".

[4] That Abū Ḥanīfa did not directly proscribe "audition" is sustained by Majd al-Dīn. See Robson, *Tracts*, pp. 87–91. On the other hand, Abū'l Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī says that the founder of the Ḥanafī school "disliked" it. See Al-Ghazālī, op. cit., ii, 183. *JRAS.* (1901), p. 202.

[5] Meaning his abandonment of a pious life.

Say to the beautiful one in the black veil,
What hast thou done to the pious ascetic
Who had girded up for prayer his skirts,
Until you appeared to him at the door of the mosque ?
Give back to him his prayer and his fasting.
Do not kill him, by the truth of the religion of Muḥammad.

And this singing (*ghinā'*) became popular in Al-Medīna, and they said, 'Al-Dārimī has returned [to his old life] and is in love with the mistress of the black veil.' Then the beautiful one[s] in Al-Medīna were no time before they had bought black veils, and the merchant sold all that he had with him. Then the associates of Al-Dārimī, among the ascetics, began to slander Al-Dārimī saying, 'What hast thou done ?' Then he would say, 'After a time you will know his story.' And when the 'Irāqian had exhausted his stock [of veils], Al-Dārimī returned to his asceticism and put on his garments [of austerity].[1]

'Abdallāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutaiba [d. 889] related in Baghdād, he said, Sahl [al-Sijistānī, d. *ca.* 864] informed me, on the authority of Al-Aṣma'ī, he said, "'Urwa ibn Udhaina used to be considered a reliable authority on tradition. Mālik ibn Anas quoted from him. He was elegant poet [specializing] in his poetry the love-song (*ghazal*). And, in his youth, he was creating melodies (*alḥān*) and singing (*ghinā'*) for his poetry. And he used to present them to the singers, and an example of that was his verse (*qaul*), and the Ḥijāzians sang it :—

O dwellings of the tribe in the thicket :
Their trace does not make plain a word.

(p. 182.) And it is the [best known] part (*mauḍa'*) of his song (*ṣaut*). And another verse (*qaul*) of his is :—

She said, when I spoke to her of my love and explained it,
You have been with me under the veil : So be veiled.
Do you not see those who are around about me ? I said to her,
Cover your passion, and what it has cast upon my sight.[2]

[1] Cf. the *Aghānī*, iii, 45.
[2] Cf. the verses and story in the *Aghānī*, xxi, 108.

He [i.e. the narrator] said, " And there stood by him a woman, and around him were the disciples. Then she said, ' You are he who is called The Virtuous Man, and it was you who said :—

When I find the fire of my love in my heart,[1]
I take myself to the common water-carrier for coolness.
Granted I have been cooled by the external water,
But who can avail against a fire in the vitals ?

Nay, by Allāh, [she said], no virtuous man ever said this.' "

He [i.e. the narrator] said, " 'Abd al-Raḥmān[2] [ibn Abī 'Ammār], nicknamed Al-Qass, was, with the people of Mecca, in the same rank as 'Aṭā' ibn Abī Rabāḥ in piety. And one day he passed by [the dwelling of] Sallāma[t al-Qass],[3] and she was singing. So he stood to listen to her singing. And her master [Suhail ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Auf] saw him, and said to him, ' Would you care to come in and listen ? ' He refused. Then the master so insisted until he went in. And he [the master] said to him, ' I will put you in a place where you will see her but she will not see you.' Then she sang to him and delighted him. Then her master said to him, ' Would you like that I should bring her to you ? ' He refused that. But he [the master] insisted until he consented. So he continued listening to her and fixing his gaze upon her, until he fell in love with her. And when she perceived his gazing at her, she sang to him :—

Many a time two messengers have sent us
A missive before they departed.
They used neither shoe nor hoof,
Nor a tongue eloquent of love,
Until they departed with their answer,
Having ensured success by the propitious omen,
We both exchanged glances,
Which pled for a decision being explicit.

[1] Lit. " my liver."

[2] The text has 'Abdallāh. Al-Ibshīhī has 'Abd al-Malik. I have substituted 'Abd al-Raḥmān on the authority of the *Aghānī*, viii, p. 6. Cf. viii, p. 14.

[3] Sallāmat al-Qass derived her nickname from that of 'Abd al-Raḥmān. She was a famous songstress who was later purchased by the Caliph Yazīd II (d. 724). She and her sister Rayyā are the subject of a verse by Ibn Qais al-Ruqayyāt.

He [i.e. the narrator] said, "Then he [the listener] fainted and almost perished. Then she [the singer] said to him, 'One day, by Allāh, I love thee.' He said to her, 'And by Allāh I love thee.' She said, 'I wish that I could kiss you.'[1] He said, 'And by Allāh, I also.' She said, 'And what prevents you from that?' He said, 'I fear that the friendship that is between you and me should become enmity on the day of resurrection. Have you not heard Allāh Most High say, The intimate friends, on that day [shall be] enemies unto one another; except the pious?'[2] Then he rose up and returned to the manner of life in which he was engaged, and he improvised saying :—

I was blaming for folly her people,[3]
And was astonished at what the day brought.
But to-day I excuse them, and know that the path of peccability
And rectitude are but parts [of a whole].[4]

And about her [he said] :—

Verily ['twas] Sallāma who
Caused me to lose my hardihood.
If you saw her and her lute ('ūd),
When it appears and she begins [to perform]
To the two Jarīrs and Al-Gharīḍ,
And to the master Ma'bad,
You would think that they were amidst her lute,
And the frets (dasātīn), and the hand [which played over them].[5]

[1] Lit. "place the mouth."
[2] Sūra, xl, 67.
[3] Meaning "people of her profession", i.e. the purveyors of *malāhi*.
[4] See *Aghānī*, viii, 8, for the preceding lines.
[5] Jarir, as the name of a minstrel, does not occur in the *Aghānī*, although Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi mentions one himself, Jarīr al-Madanī. Cf. *ante* p. 137. Both Al-Gharīḍ and Ma'bad (d. 743) are included among the "four great singers" of the Golden Age of Islām. It was the latter who taught Sallāmat al-Qass, and she sang one of his elegies beside his bier.

472.

An Armenian MS. with Unique Mongolian Miniatures

By H. KURDIAN

WHILE in New York City in 1939, I purchased an Armenian MS. with most unusual Mongolian miniatures. The MS., now part of my collection, has been rebound crudely with the remains of an old oriental binding consisting of wooden boards covered with leather. The inside of the binding is lined with brown cotton print covered with a small design. The MS. has 109 leaves, each measuring 10 by 15 inches. Upon examining the text, paper, and script, we find that the present volume is composed of two different Armenian MSS. jumbled together without any consideration of the fact that the text materials are unrelated. Pages 2, 3, 4, 41, 52–70, and 83–96 are fragments of an *Haismāvourk* (Life of Martyrs) written about 1630, perhaps in New Djulfa (Isfahan, Persia) for the Armenian prince-merchant Khodja Nazar, his son Khodja Safraz [1] and their family. Although this part of the volume is very valuable and important, it is not of primary interest to us.

Pages 1, 5–40, 42–51, 71–82, 97–109 belong to an old *Jāshots* (Church ritual). It is written on thick oriental paper, two columns to the page and 33 lines to the column in fine Armenian *polorkir* (round letters). The present page 1 is adorned with a splendid *khoran* (frontispiece) and with a number of marginal illuminations and decorative capitals done in fine, bright colours of red, blue, and yellow, and executed in faithful Armenian traditional style. In this fragmentary *Jāshots* we also find two full-page miniatures: The Nativity (fig. 1) and the Crucifixion (fig. 2), which have

[1] See Thomas Herbert, *Travels in Persia* (1627–9), "The Argonaut Series," 1929. Khwāja Nazar (Hodge-nazar), pp. 121, 122, 137. Also the *Journal of Robert Stodart*, London, 1935, Sarphars Beg, pp. 71–3; and as Kwāja Sarfarāz, see "Court Minutes of the East India Company," 1640–43. As Khwajeh Nazar in *A Chronicle of the Carmelite in Persia*, London, 1939, pp. 245, 257, 308 (Sarfaraz), pp. 378, 379, 1074.

been executed over the original writing of the MS. The writing is visible under strong light.

The lack of any signature or colophon in the *Jāshots* leaves us in darkness about the identity of the scribe, illuminator, and miniaturist. Nor do we know where or when the MS. was executed. But from an examination of the paper and script we may assume that it was sometime in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The style of the illuminations also indicates that they were done by an able Armenian illuminator of that period.

But the puzzling and curious part of the MS. are the miniatures. The colours and style of execution of both of these are the same. Opaque colours have been expertly used, and their sombre and dull appearance is very much unlike the cheerful colours of the light decorations of the Armenian illuminator. The technique of the miniatures indicates plainly that they are not the work of an Armenian, as the following facts go to show :—

(1) The miniatures have been executed upon the writing of the MS., thus injuring, of course, its usefulness.

(2) They are executed in Mongolian style. Eyes, hair, physiognomy of all the characters are typically Mongolian.[1] All the details convince one that the miniaturist could not have been an Armenian, not even an Armenian reared in Mongolian art. If the latter, he would have shown some Mongolian influence, but would not have been completely "Mongolian" in style. And most assuredly he would not have marred the book by painting on top of the writing.

(3) The miniaturist was not well versed in Christian history, and either was unfamiliar with the details of the Nativity and Crucifixion, or, perhaps, did not understand them. In the Nativity scene we do not see the usual group of domestic animals, and the arched building looks more like part of a palace than a humble "manger". In the Crucifixion Christ

[1] Through years of research in thousands of Armenian MSS. all over the world, I have not seen anything remotely resembling them.

appears fully clothed, the cross is represented as carved and decorated, the Marys are missing, etc. These facts indicate that the artist had no idea of Armenian or even Oriental traditions in Christian illustrations. His knowledge was very limited and so unorthodox that he cannot have been an Armenian, or even Christian artist.

Who then was the miniaturist ? He could not have been a Mohammedan, for no Mussulman would have polluted his hand by painting Christian subjects. Nor would a Christian have permitted a Mohammedan to desecrate a holy MS. if he could help it. The artist can only have been a pagan Tartar, or a Tartar newly converted to Christianity.

If this surmise be correct it can perhaps help us to determine the period of the execution of the miniatures as the end of the thirteenth century, for Tartars, until the reign of Kazan Il-Khan of Persia (1295–1304), were free to worship as they pleased, but during Kazan's reign they were forced into Mohammedanism. There are other minor items that contribute to a dating of the miniatures in this period. In a miniature of Ogatai,[1] successor of Jenghis Khan, we see the Khan seated on a couch in front of a grill of some sort, the design of which is identical with the design of the grill crossing the middle of our miniature of the Nativity ; and we see also that the decoration on the double arches in this scene resembles the decoration of Ogatai's tent. This miniature of Ogatai Khan is dated at the beginning of the fourteenth century and is classed as " Mongol school ".

Thus in an Armenian MS. of about the thirteenth century, we find a pair of most unusual Mongolian miniatures, certainly executed by a Mongolian miniaturist. The fact that the MS. is a church ritual and not a private MS. adds to the puzzle regarding the miniatures, for their author, unfamiliar with Christian traditions, not only created his own composition of the subjects and executed it in Mongolian style, but he also disregarded the point that the MS. was for church use

[1] Armeng Sakisian, *La Miniature Persane* (Paris, 1929), fig. 29.

and that he was rendering it useless by covering two of the written pages with his paintings. Perhaps through plunder or in some other way the MS. came into the possession of a Mongolian miniaturist who then produced these compositions solely to satisfy an urge to miniature a large and important-looking MS. This would explain his disregard of the relation of the miniatures to the text, of Armenian tradition, and even of the correct version of his subjects.

THE NATIVITY.

THE CRUCIFIXION.

FRONTISPIECE.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

A FURTHER NOTE ON THE UDYOGA-PARVAN PASSAGE, 5.19.15

With reference to my explanation of the Udyoga-parvan passage, Critical Edition, 5.19.15, in *JRAS*. January, 1940, Professor Johnston's remarks raise three new issues. His objections are :—

1. There is no other instance in literature of the use of the word *kāñcana* as the name for a tree ;
2. It is not known to the *Amarakośa* in this sense ; and
3. Bhagadatta's army was " mainly composed of Kirātas ", and a contrast between the component parts of his army is " unknown to this and other passages ".

These objections, if valid, would raise doubt as to the correctness of my explanation ; but they are based upon insufficient information.

1. A convincing instance of the use of the word *kāñcana* as the name for a tree is found in the *Mahābhārata* itself ! It occurs in Āraṇyaka-parvan, Bombay ed. 3.39.2 (= Critical ed. 3.40.2) :

kairātaṁ veṣam āsthāya *kāñcana-druma*-sannibham,

where the reference, being to the *Kirāta* dress of Śiva, is the most appropriate for our purpose. The reading of the line, is that of both the Vulgate and the Critical edition, and need not, therefore, be doubted.[1] Perhaps other instances in later literature can be found, but it is not necessary for us to go further. In a cursory search, however, I have come across another instance, but since the passage involves a punning simile, it is perhaps not as unambiguous. It occurs in Rājaśekhara's *Viddha-śālabhañjikā*, Act iii, after verse 26 (ed. B. R. Arte, Poona, 1886, p. 108), where Mṛgāṅkāvalī says : *kañcana-lattia* vva sahaārībhūdā (*me taṇu*). The

[1] The reference to the Critical Edition of the Bhandarkar Institute, which is being printed, is supplied by my friend Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, the editor of the Āraṇyaka-parvan, to whom I also owe some other suggestions made in the course of a discussion of the Udyoga-parvan passage in question.

commentator Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita explains: kāñcana-yaṣṭir iva sahakārībhūtā suvarṇa-yaṣṭir iva sahāyībhūtā, which is the apparent meaning, but adds: *kāñcano vṛkṣa-viśeṣas* tasya yaṣṭiḥ, sahakāra āmras tadbhāvam āpanneti vā. The use of *kāñcana* in close connexion with *sahakāra* makes the pun (implying names of trees) justifiable and the explanation reasonable.

Professor Johnston says: "I should have felt more inclined to accept it" (i.e. *kāñcana* = a tree), "if it had been known to the *Amarakośa*, which, however, does not refer to it." But he has overlooked a passage in the Vanauṣadhi-varga (ii.4.65), where the *Amarakośa* clearly mentions it:

cāmpeyaḥ kesaro nāgakesaraḥ *kāñcanāhvayaḥ*,

the term *kāñcanāhvayaḥ* being explained by Sarvānanda as suvarṇa-paryāya-nāmakaḥ, and by both Bhānujī Dīkṣita and the *Rāmāśramī* commentary as kāñcanasyāhvaya āhvayo yasya. This is confirmed by Hemacandra in his *Anekārtha-saṃgraha* (ed. Th. Zachariae, iii, 357), with the addition of a few other names of trees with which kāñcana is apparently identified or confused :—

kāñcano nāgakesare |
udumbare kāñcanāre puṁnāge campake'pi ca ||,

and by *Medinī*, Na 48 :

kāñcanaḥ kāñcanāle syāc campake nāgakesare |
udumbare ca dhattūre.

These passages will show that later lexicons do not blindly follow or repeat the *Amarakośa*, but add the names of several trees for which the word *kāñcana* must have stood in later usage. The *Vaijayantī*, for instance, appears to distinguish between *kāñcana* and *kāñcanāra* (ed. Oppert, pp. 49 and 51); while *kāñcana* or *kāñcanāra* is sometimes identified with the more familiar *kovidāra*, which is distinguished into a red (*rakta*) and a white (*śveta*) variety. It is also noteworthy that the word is known to the medical works as the name of a tree, Suśruta using the word *kāñcanaka* in 1.145.18, as

already noted by Böhtlingk and Roth; and this evidence cannot be so easily ignored as that of the lexicons. The word is also in current use in Bengali and Marathi to signify a particular tree. It would seem, therefore, that in later usage the identity of the tree was lost and, as the lexicons and medical works show, the word *kāñcana* came to mean a large variety of trees; but the word was certainly known, and is even known to-day, as the name of a tree.

3. The third point imagines a difficulty, which would not have arisen had Professor Johnston been aware of the clear evidence furnished by several passages in the *Mahābhārata*. We know from many references in the epic that Bhagadatta was king of Prāgjyotiṣa; and in the Udyoga-parvan (5.4.11, Critical ed.) he is described as *pūrva-sāgara-vāsin*. This last reference would imply that this Prāgjyotiṣa did not signify any place in Central Asia, but meant Eastern Assam, and Bhagadatta's kingdom must have extended to the sea-coast of the Bay of Bengal. Accordingly, his subjects are elsewhere called Mlecchas who were *sāgarānūpa-vāsin* (Bombay ed. 2.34.10 = Critical ed. 2.31.10),[1] apparently barbarous warrior-tribes dwelling along the sea-coast. This description cannot apply to the Cīnas and Kirātas, as they are mountain tribes on the north and the south of the Himalayas; and they could never be called *sāgarānūpa-vāsin*. That Bhagadatta, from the situation of his kingdom, had Cīnas and Kirātas in his army, as well as his coastal subjects, is made clear in another passage (Bombay ed. 2.26.9 = Critical ed. 2.23.19) :—

sa *Kirātaiś* ca *Cīnaiś* ca vṛtaḥ Prāgjyotiṣo'bhavat |
anyaiś ca bahubhir yodhaiḥ *sāgarānūpa-vāsibhiḥ* ||.

Here the word *vṛtaḥ* is similar to and explains *saṁvṛtam* of the Udyoga-parvan passages. It is clear that Bhagadatta's army was *not*, as alleged by Professor Johnston, "mainly composed of Kirātas," nor is a contrast between the component parts

[1] The reference to the Institute Critical edition of the Sabhā-parvan, now under preparation by Professor Franklin Edgerton, was supplied to me by Dr. Sukthankar.

of his army " unknown to this and other passages ". Professor Johnston rightly insists that the poet " must be presumed to have known how similes are constructed in Sanskrit poetry " ; but there is nothing in the verse which encourages the supposition that he did not. What the exact difference between the karṇikāra and the kāñcana trees is escapes us, for we do not know what trees are meant, but our explanation makes reasonable sense of the verse and the simile ; for the passages cited make it clear that Bhagadatta's army was mainly composed of the *sāgarānūpavāsin*, who are compared with the karṇikāra-vana, while Cīnas and Kirātas, who were included in his army, are likened to groups of kāñcana trees in the karṇikāra forest. There is nothing inappropriate in the simile. In giving a *literal* rendering of the verse, I translated *saṁvṛtam* as " girt (with) ", but there is no objection to translating it as " containing " or " filled (partly) with ", if Professor Johnston thinks that it gives a better meaning ; for the dictionaries (PW and MW) give both meanings.

S. K. DE.

10.7.40

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

LES TEXTES DE RAS SHAMRA-UGARIT ET LEURS APPORTS À L'HISTOIRE DES ORIGINES ISRAÉLITES. By R. DE LANGHE. Bulletin d'histoire et d'exégèse de l'Ancien Testament, fasc. 7. 10 × 6½, pp. 246 to 327. Bruges. Editeur Bagaert, 1939.

For many years the alphabetic cuneiform texts from Ras Shamra will be an attractive, and sometimes delusive, field of research for scholars. In Schaeffer's new volume *Ugaritica* I, the bibliography of the literature which has accumulated round the new texts since their discovery less than ten years ago already fills fifty large quarto pages.

M. de Langhe's monograph is a valuable addition to the many studies which have hitherto appeared. The original element in it consists of an attempt to elucidate the meaning of the very difficult text to which M. Virolleaud has given the name *La Légende de Kéret*. Its earliest interpreters, MM. Virolleaud and Dussaud, though differing in details of interpretation, agreed in regarding the text as throwing light on the early movements of the ancestors of the Hebrew people in Canaan, and as supporting the "Negebite" theory of the origin of the Ras Shamra civilization. This view was based on the belief that the text contained references to Terah, the father of Abraham, and to a clan of Terahites, who were moon-worshippers; also a mention of the names of various north-Israelite tribes, such as Asher, Zebulun, and Dan. This position has been exposed to a severe attack, both from the main body of American scholars, led by Professor Albright, and from the Dominican scholars, notably that able archæologist R. P. de Vaux. M. de Langhe has joined the attacking forces with success. Professor Albright has furnished convincing grounds for the view that the text should be

read in such a way as to obliterate completely all mention of Terah and the Israelite tribes referred to. On the other hand it is not so certain that the theory of a southern origin of the "Phœnician" coastal civilization has been completely disposed of. M. de Langhe's new interpretation of the Keret text deserves and will receive the careful consideration of scholars.

B. 504. S. H. HOOKE.

LES INSCRIPTIONS HITTITES HIÉROGLYPHIQUES. Livraison III : Vol. 1. Transcription et Traduction de 45 Inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques avec Commentaire. By BEDRICH HROZNÝ. 10 × 7, pp. 197, pls. 89. Prague : Ustav Orientalni, 1937.

HITTITE HIEROGLYPHIC MONUMENTS. By IGNACE J. GELB. (University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Publications vol. xlv.) 12 × 9, pp. xviii + 40, pls. 94, illus. 243, map 1. Chicago : University Press, 1939.

The fascinating problem of the decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphics found in Syria and Asia Minor has often in the past been brought to the notice of this Society, chiefly by reason of the part played in it by the Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce. Readers, however, might be pardoned if they were somewhat mystified by his later efforts. The subject, though now important, has so few devotees that it is desirable to offer a sketch of its development. Sayce was the father of the subject, giving it much helpful publicity, and making brilliant deductions and discoveries such as that of the "Tarkondemos" seal, which yielded the valuable decipherment of the signs for "king", "country", and "god". Yet he could not save the progress of decipherment from a stagnation from which it was only rescued when in 1911–14 long, clear, and fairly complete inscriptions were excavated by the British Museum Expedition at Carchemish on the Euphrates. But by this time Sayce's gift of intuition seems

to have deserted him, and his later theories pursued an unprofitable path.

Already, however, his mantle had fallen upon others. In 1913, Mr. Campbell Thompson, basing his work on some of the recently discovered texts, was able to throw light on the already known material and (1) to confirm the view that the script was syllabic, each sign representing a vowel and a consonant, and (2) to discover in the long-known texts of Hamath (of one of which the Society has a cast) the name of the town and of Urhilina a king of that city who fought bitterly against the Assyrian Shalmaneser III. Finally, he rightly read on the sculptured lion from Marash (of which also the Society has a cast) the name of Gurgum, the name the Assyrian records give for this very district.

The only other scholar to enter this field at that time was another Englishman, the distinguished Bodley's Librarian, Dr. A. E. Cowley. In his Schweich lectures for 1918 he began to tidy up and balance critically the scattered suggestions bearing on the subject, and elucidated the values of several till then undeciphered signs. He was, moreover, able to form a fair idea of the contents and structure of the opening formula found on many of the royal texts of Carchemish on these lines. "Thus says X, priest of so-and-so, king of Carchemish, great king (son) of so-and-so, great king." He missed the mark only by one point, in failing to identify the word for "son", the necessity for which he rightly felt. This want was not supplied till 1928–29, when Piero Meriggi, a lecturer in Italian at the University of Hamburg, provided it,[1] and rang the signal for the startlingly rapid raising of the curtain upon these mysteries which shortly followed. With Meriggi's assistance it was now possible to bring order and daylight into the long pedigree of the king who made the Marash lion.

As often happens when important discoveries are made, there is more than one claimant for the honours, and it often

[1] *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1930.

seems as if they were won simultaneously at several places. At the Orientalists' Congress in 1931, an American, I. Gelb, propounded a number of new readings, including that for Halpa, the ancient name of Aleppo, and for the goddess Kupapa. At the same meeting, a Swiss savant, Emil Forrer, produced the first part of a dazzlingly brilliant opuscule [1] in which the affinities of the language, its grammar, syntax and construction, and the translation of the opening and concluding formulas of the texts were miraculously laid bare at one stroke. The language was Indo-European, akin to that of the Hittite cuneiform texts found at Boghaz-köy; the opening formula was much as Cowley had it; but the concluding sentences were in the form of the most elaborate of curses, exactly as was common in Mesopotamian inscriptions from before the time of Hammurabi.

Very shortly afterwards (1932) Helmuth Bossert,[2] a German scholar at Istanbul, recognized in an inscription from Tyana the name of Urpalla, a dynast who opposed the Assyrian Tiglath-pileser. Finally came Hrozný, the Czech scholar celebrated for having deciphered the language of the Hittite cuneiform texts. In the first volume of his *Inscriptions Hittites Hiéroglyphiques* (1932) [3] he carried further the good work of his contemporaries. But with his second volume (1933) he conferred upon them a truly signal benefit, by beginning the transcription in linear form of the principal inscriptions. Considerable agreement was now being reached about the syllabic values of the signs and the general trend of interpretation. The important thing was now to have good texts. This Hrozný set himself to collect and provide, and with the third instalment (1937), we have the ripe fruits of that undertaking. Assisted by the Czech government, Hrozný made a journey to Asia Minor, where fresh copies

[1] *Die hethitische Bilderschrift*, 1932.

[2] *Santaś und Kupapa*, M.A.O.G. 1932.

[3] Reviewed previously in this journal; also published as part of *Archiv Orientalni*.

and photographs were made. A new type-fount which was a great improvement on anything preceding, had been cut already for vol. i. From this point of view the new corpus of texts is an unqualified asset. It is not always perfect. The text of Tel Ahmar B as given here contains several mistakes; and the columns of the text of Sultan Han [1] are copied in the wrong order; yet the work remains for the present very valuable.

It is not as easy to praise Hrozný's contributions to translation and interpretation. His translations for certain words appear quite unacceptable, and give the impression that he is suffering from delusions in seeing some things everywhere; "vestibules", "grande jarres à provisions", "baldaquins" and "sandales" perpetually reappear in different contexts, usually as incongruously as King Charles's head; in other suggestions, however, Hrozný is undoubtedly on the right track, such as the words for "father" and "grandfather". Naturally much is tentative. Nevertheless, he too often disfigures his text by pointless notes, which exist only because he is reluctant to admit that he does not know the answer [2]; while he is addicted to relying upon precarious interpretations based on comparative philology.[3] As the readings of the words thus interpreted are somewhat imperfectly known, this system usually does not carry great conviction. Fortunately these vagaries tend to grow less in each successive volume. But a little more self-criticism might have spared us the somewhat mischievous disquisition on two deities whose names Hrozný interprets on evidence of his own concocting as Apulunas and Rutas, and then identifies gratuitously with Apollo and his sister, Artemis, claiming the Greek deities are derived from these imaginary Hittite gods. This is the system *lucus a non lucendo* with a vengeance. In general,

[1] Vol. ii, 290.

[2] E.g. 399, n. 1.

[3] J. Friedrich, in a review of Hrozný in *Zeitschr. für Assyr.*, has protested against the dangers of this method.

Hrozný's view is that the language of the Hittite hieroglyphics is to be identified with *Palaite*, the language of the city of Pala, mentioned in the Hittite cuneiform documents. But the theory remains no more than the merest guess.

Other landmarks in the recent history of the decipherment have been in 1935 the publication [1] of the bilingual seal-impressions found in the excavation at Boghazköy which the Germans resumed in 1931—these proved that the script was used under the rulers of the Hittite Empire of the second millennium B.C., and gave decipherments of some of their names; and then in 1939 the appearance of the work by Gelb now under review. Like Hrozný, he also went to Anatolia and Syria. As a result he is able to publish sixty-two inscriptions with a technical efficiency that leaves nothing to be desired. The superb photographs and reproductions are beyond praise. Several of these inscriptions were known before, but insufficiently published, such as those from Aleppo or Derende; others are new, such as those from Çalap Verdi, Çiftlik, Jisr el-Hadid, Tell Ta'yinat, Tuleil, and Veli Isa. These should yield some fresh information. There is a useful map showing the sites over which they are distributed, and a bibliography of the inscriptions. The next task for scholars is to examine and assess the sum total of the information, historical and epigraphical, which it is now possible to extract from the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions, now that successive generations of decipherers have made them in some degree intelligible. But this task cannot be attempted in the compass of this review.

B. 290.

R. D. BARNETT.

[1] Bittel and Güterbock, *Bogazköy: Neue Untersuchungen in der hethitischen Hauptstadt*. Abh. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., 1935.

Far East

THE BOOK OF SONGS. Translated from the Chinese with Supplement by ARTHUR WALEY. 9 × 6, pp. 358. Supplement, 8¾ × 5¾, pp. 31. London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1937. 10*s*. 6*d*. + 4*s*. 6*d*.

Nearly seventy years have elapsed since Legge published his epoch-making translation of the *Shih Ching*, usually known as the Odes or the Book of Poetry. Mr. Waley's new version, if not exactly epoch-making, does strip away the lead weight of accumulated commentaries and helps us to understand the real nature of these pieces that were so admired by Confucius. His title in itself gives the clue. They are not, as hitherto we had been led to believe, odes or set poems elaborated for the purpose of conveying moral lessons, but simple folk-songs that sprang from the heart of the people. They are arranged here not in the traditional order, that is to say, under the feudal states in which they are supposed to have originated, but according to their themes, those of courtship, marriage, agriculture, and fighting being the most important; and they are numbered consecutively from 1 to 305, which is very convenient for reference. What appears in Legge, for example, as No. 1 of Book 8 (the Odes of Ts'e) in Part I (Lessons from the States) is now simply No. 26. This piece may also serve to illustrate the new lines of interpretation adopted by Mr. Waley. Legge, following Chu Hsi and the early critics, explains it as the utterance of "a model marchioness stimulating her husband to rise early and attend to his duties". Such a theme is hardly attractive enough to have been embodied in a folk-song. Thanks largely to the penetration of M. Granet, we can now see that it is a short dialogue between a lover and his mistress after a night spent together—very like what we find in *Romeo and Juliet*. Thus the lady says: "The eastern sky glows; it is broad daylight," and the lover, reluctant to go, replies: "That is not the glow of dawn, but the rising moon's light."

Mr. Waley, however, is much too severe on Legge, the grand old pioneer, when he declares that " to-day his translation serves no useful purpose ", simply because he does not follow Chu Hsi throughout, like Couvreur, but occasionally prefers the interpretation of the Han commentators, or " dilutes both with suggestions of his own ". Surely it is not the duty of a conscientious translator to accept any interpretation blindly, but to exercise his own judgment. Sometimes, too, Mr. Waley's renderings are markedly inferior in poetic feeling to those of previous translators. I will quote, side by side with his, one by Mr. Allen Upward, based on the much-despised Legge, and about as literal as any translation can be. Incidentally it shows what an essential part rhyme and metre play in verse of this description. These are the words of a boy emperor, Ch'êng, occurring in No. 229 :—

Mr. Waley.—" I, a little child,
Am not wise or reverent,
But as days pass, months go by,
I learn from those that have bright splendour.
O Radiance, O Light,
Help these my strivings ;
Show me how to manifest the ways of power."

Mr. Upward.—" It is but as a little child I ask
Without intelligence to do my task,
Yet learning, month by month and day by day,
Let me hold fast some gleams of knowledge bright ;
Teach me to bear my heavy burden right,
And show me how to walk in wisdom's way."

In spite of minor imperfections, this book, taken all round, must rank as the finest contribution Mr. Waley has yet made to sinology. Its pages are not overloaded with footnotes, and the poems are for the most part allowed to speak for themselves. Some additional notes are supplied at the end, but those dealing with textual and technical questions that concern the specialist are contained in a small supplementary volume.

A. 946.

LIONEL GILES.

THE ANALECTS OF CONFUCIUS. Translated and annotated by ARTHUR WALEY. 8½ × 6, pp. 265. London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1938. 10s. 6d.

It would not be quite true to say that the Analects is the only reliable source of information about Confucius. But it is the earliest and by far the best-authenticated collection of his sayings, and scholars have long been at pains to discover how and when the compilation was made. What Mr. Waley is able to tell us about the history of the book is based on conjecture rather than on established facts, but his theories are generally plausible and often convincing. He quickly disposes of the notion that the book as it exists to-day could have been compiled either by the immediate disciples of Confucius or even by the generation that followed. It clearly consists of strata proceeding from very different sources, and there is no evidence that Mencius or Hsün Tzŭ knew it in its present form. Books 3 to 9 are probably the oldest portion, and several of the later books have little or no connexion with the rest. But Mr. Waley wisely refrains from disturbing the received order of the sayings and re-arranging them as he had previously re-arranged the Book of Songs. As a translator, he has not been content to follow in the wake of Legge, who suffers from the disadvantage of having been the first, or very nearly the first, in a field which needed much re-tilling before it could produce a wholly satisfactory crop. His own version is clearly the fruit of much study, as we can tell from his long and carefully reasoned introduction. Yet somehow I cannot feel that the result is quite successful. Much depends on the interpretation of certain basic terms such as 仁 *jen* and 禮 *li*, and in many places his chosen equivalents do not seem to me to fit. He makes a fetish, I think, of rigid consistency, as when he persists in translating *li* by "ritual" in every context. Why should we assume that Confucius always used this term in precisely the same sense? I cannot, for instance, believe that he was ever

guilty of uttering absurdities like these: "Poor, yet delighting in the Way; rich, yet a student of ritual." "So long as the ruler loves ritual, the people will be easy to handle." "A ruler in employing his ministers should be guided solely by the prescriptions of ritual." Mr. Waley himself says in his introduction that the Confucius of the Analects is not much concerned with the details of ritual, either public or domestic, but with morality rather than manners. In these and other passages *li* is clearly something subjective, a principle of harmony in the soul, as Plato might say, the point being that no man is fit to govern others who cannot govern himself.

I am glad to see that Mr. Waley agrees with me as to the relatively small part played by filial piety in early Confucianism. Some writers have made it the centre and pivot of Confucian teaching, but readers fresh to the Analects will be surprised to find how little space is allotted to it there. The best epitome of what Confucius taught comes from the disciple Tsêng Tzŭ, who said that it amounted simply to this: "Loyalty to oneself and charity to one's neighbour." Mr. Waley gets only half of this right with "Loyalty, consideration", for he explains that *chung* means "loyalty to superiors". The character is composed of "middle" and "heart", and conveys the same idea as Shakespeare's "To thine own self be true". Mr. Ku Hung-ming saw the true meaning forty years ago, and translated the word "conscientiousness".

I shall not continue to pick holes in Mr. Waley's translation, though there is a good deal in it that I consider retrograde and perverse. Rather would I revert, in conclusion, to its many outstanding merits. At any rate, there is no slavish adherence to outworn tradition, no acceptance of other men's opinions just because they have been crystallized by time and generations of commentators. Mr. Waley's judgments, we may feel sure, are always based on honest thought and independent research. It should be added

that his textual notes clear up many difficulties which hav puzzled Chinese as well as foreign students.

B. 327. LIONEL GILES.

EARLY JAPANESE HISTORY (*c.* 40 B.C.–A.D. 1167). By ROBERT KARL REISCHAUER. 9¼ × 6½. 2 volumes. A, pp. xiii + 405. B, pp. 249, maps, 17. Princeton: Princetor University Press. $7·50. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 35*s.* (2 vols.).

This work in two volumes comprises in volume A a chronicle of events in early Japanese history, from mythological times to A.D. 1167, with a prefatory outline of the historical trends of the same period; in volume B, maps, genealogies, an index of Chinese characters and a glossary of Japanese and English terminology which is useful for the understanding of the material contained in the main volume A. Volume B is photographed from typescript, and is rather disagreeable to read, but legible enough.

The author's object was to provide, for students of Japanese history who are unable to read Japanese easily, detailed information which can be obtained only from sources in Japanese or at best in a fragmentary way from scattered translations, some of which are not reliable. The progress of Japanese studies by Occidental scholars has been very slow in comparison with the advance and spread of Sinology in recent years. Interest in Japanese studies is, however, growing, especially in the United States, but such studies cannot make headway so long as the number of students with the necessary linguistic equipment is small. The work under review, therefore, serves an important purpose at this present stage. It may be added that even those students who command a good working knowledge of the Japanese language are only too glad to save their time and spare their eyes the drudgery of reading Japanese and Chinese script when it can honestly be avoided.

It is naturally difficult for the compiler of a work of this kind to decide what events should be included, and what omitted, in his chronological list. Dr. Reischauer based his selection on the standard chronologies (*nempyō*) used in Japan, checking these by reference to the primary sources covering the dates in question, such as the six national chronicles beginning with the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*. For this early period this was clearly the best method, and it has been applied with great care and good judgment. He has also utilized the *Shiryōsōran* or Conspectus of Historical Materials compiled by the Imperial University of Tokyo, a work of high authority.

The following extracts will show both the method used and the nature of the material presented :—

789.1.7 (Enryaku 7.12.7). Subjugating-the-East great general (Seitō-dai-Shōgun) Ki Kosami was given his sword of office (settō).

789.7.6 (6.9). Subjugating-the-East general (Seitō-Shōgun) [Ki Kosami's] second report arrived, explaining how difficult it was to fight the Ezo because of his long line of communications.

The entries in brackets are added by the compiler in explanation. Thus " Enryaku 7.12.7 " stands for the 7th day of the 12th lunar month of the 7th year of the Enryaku era. " Seito-dai-Shōgun " is the Japanese title used in the original documents. This title is given in the alphabetical index in Volume B, with the appropriate reference to places where it occurs in the chronological list in Volume A, so that the reader can readily find the places in the Chronicles where a given term or title or place or personal name is used, a brief explanation in the glossary, and the characters used in the original text. In other words, by intelligent use of these two volumes, the student can obtain a useful outline of Japanese history exactly as it is recorded in primary sources, together with detailed information as to dates, names, technical terms, etc., which would be extremely

difficult to come by for any student not familiar with those sources and practised in searching through reference books in Chinese and Japanese.

This is, then, a most convenient work for all students of Japanese history, and an almost indispensable one for those who are beginning its study parallel with a study of the Japanese language.

The author, the late Dr. Robert Reischauer of Princeton University, died in tragic circumstances in Shanghai in the summer of 1937. He was conducting a party of American university students on a tour of the Far East, when he was killed by a bomb from a Chinese aeroplane. It was an ironic fate that a missile intended to damage a Japanese warship fell upon a number of innocent Chinese and included in its victims a promising young American scholar whose life was to have been devoted to improving relations between East and West.

He had intended to carry his chronicle of events down to modern times, and his widow is undertaking this pious task. It will present many problems, because it is obvious that the task of selection will be far more difficult for later than for earlier periods. The records for the earlier periods are so scanty that the question of elimination hardly arises, while the authenticity of the primary sources cannot usefully be discussed, since each chronicle covers a different period and there are as a rule no other sources of information. But for the later periods, from the Kamakura period onwards, both primary and secondary sources are much more voluminous. It will therefore require careful judgment to decide what events should be included, and to assess the credibility of any statement which is included.

Until lately, most people supposed that Japanese culture was a limited field, interesting enough but shut off from the true domain of Oriental studies. Now it is realized that through the medium of Japanese studies information can be gained, which is not otherwise available, to throw

light on many questions of importance—notably in the development of Buddhism, the history of oriental art and certain aspects of linguistics in Eastern Asia. It is unfortunate that in the United Kingdom we have scarcely any facilities for such studies to compare with those available at Harvard, Princeton, Yale, Columbia, and other schools in the United States.

A. 984. G. B. SANSOM.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF SINGASARI. By JESSY BLOM. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 184, pls. 4, sketch maps 2. Leiden: Burgersdijk en Niermans (Templum Salomonis), 1939.

This excellent piece of work was presented by the author, under the auspices of Dr. N. J. Krom, as a thesis for the degree of "Doctor in de Letteren en Wijsbegeerte" at Leiden University.

Singasari was the capital of a kingdom in Eastern Java, which arose some considerable time after the disappearance or eclipse of the early Dieng plateau dynasties, and which itself was overthrown in 1292, to make way for the Majapahit dynasty.

Very little is known of the Singasari complex of temples which once existed. So much has been destroyed or taken away for re-building purposes, that it has only been found possible to restore one temple by the Archæological Survey of the Netherlands Indies.

After an account of the temple (Chandi A), now restored, and the images connected with it, the author discusses the known facts regarding the temples which have now vanished (B, C, D, and E) and endeavours, as far as possible, to reconstruct them.

There is still considerable controversy as to whether these temples were dedicated to Çivaite worship only, or to Çiva-Buddha as suggested by Dr. Stutterheim; the author appears to incline to the Çiva theory, in the absence of definite evidence to the contrary.

In chapter V the history of the period and the dates of foundation are discussed, and in chapter VI the inscriptions and later images are dealt with, ending with a summary of the author's views on the whole subject.

B. 493. R. LE MAY.

THE WANDERING LAKE. By SVEN HEDIN. Translated from the Swedish by F. H. LYON. 9 × 6, pp. x + 293, ills. 108, maps 10. London: G. Routledge, 1940. 18*s*.

The title is a synonym for Lop-nor, and the book treats of the author's expedition which in 1934 investigated the return of the Lake to its old bed 13 years ago. A fascinating account.

B. 531.

APRICOT CHEEKS AND ALMOND EYES. By G. WIMSATT. 8 × 5½, pp. xviii + 123, pls. 8. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. 12*s*. 6*d*.

A sketch of the Chinese Court under the Southern Sung in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, embellished with translations of an empress' poems.

B. 545.

A HISTORY OF MALAY LITERATURE. By R. O. WINSTEDT. 9⅝ × 6⅛, pp. vii + 243. Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xvii, part iii, January, 1940. Singapore: Printers, Ltd., 1940. $3.50.

Malay literature, as Sir Richard Winstedt points out, is for the most part borrowed from foreign sources, the older portions of it directly or indirectly from India, the more recent from the Muslim world; and correspondingly the Malay language has been enriched, on the one hand from Sanskrit, Tamil, and Javanese, and on the other from Persian and Arabic. Consequently, to do justice to the subject, these various elements have in this history been traced to their sources in an extensive study of many Malay works. Abstracts of a number of these are given, thirteen at some length in an

Appendix, and many others more briefly in the main body of the work, under such heads as folk literature, the Hindu period, Muslim legends, Muslim theology, jurisprudence, and history, Malay histories, codes of law and poetry. In addition to these there is a valuable chapter on modern developments by a Malay scholar, Enche' Zain al-'abidin, who deals with the nineteenth century and the most recent times, bringing this history up to date and including some brief biographies of modern authors. A very extensive and useful bibliography completes this excellent work.

B. 589. C. O. BLAGDEN.

Middle East

THE NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF RAYY. By G. C. MILES. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 240, pls. 6. Numismatic Studies, No. 2. New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1938.

This memoir is the second in a new series of numismatic studies published by the American Numismatic Society and is a work of great value not only to the specialist but also to students of the history of Iran. It sets out the inscriptions on all the coins struck by Muslims at Rayy which have been published or which the author has seen, arranging them chronologically and by different dynasties and noting where the coins were published or are now deposited. And for each year in which a coin was struck there is an abstract of what the chroniclers have said regarding the events of that year, with summaries for blank periods.

The work thus goes far beyond the ordinary catalogue of a collection. Dr. Miles was for three years with the American Archæological Expedition at Rayy and has been able to examine many unpublished coins in the museums at Istanbul, Vienna, Berlin, Paris, London, and New York, besides several private collections. At Berlin there is a hoard of 5,000 Abbassid *dirhams* from Assur which has never been described,

and in 1934 the Expedition found a large number of Seljuq *dinars* at the Chashma-i-Ali site.

A preliminary chapter deals fully with previous speculations about the mint name on Sasanian coins which is transliterated R D. Nöldeke suggested that this stood for Rayy and Herzfeld has fully established it from fuller evidence now available. The earliest Muslim coins follow the Sasanian style from 21 A.H. and the Umayyad type begins in 81. In 148 the name of the city was changed to Muhammadiya in honour of the Caliph al-Mahdi, and the new name persisted as the mint title, with a few exceptions, until Mahmud of Ghazni took the city from the Buyids in 420. Coins are known of every year from 143 to 210 except 156 and the series then becomes more broken owing to dynastic contests. It is perhaps in the next three centuries that the evidence of the coins to confirm or supplement the histories is most valuable. For the first half of the sixth century A.H. a very few Seljuq coins are known, and from 617 when the Mongols entered Rayy till 701 no coins seem to have been struck there. Dr. Miles closes his narrative with the words: "The few issues that follow are of no importance. They are the only vestige of an abortive attempt to restore the great city to something of its old grandeur."

A very full bibliography, indices and six excellent plates add to the value of the work.

B. 331. R. BURN.

India

SHAH ABDUL LATIF OF BHIT. By H. T. SORLEY. Oxford Univesity Press. 8½ × 5½. pp. 432 + viii. 18s.

This able study will do much to support the claim of the people of Sind that Shah Abdul Latif should be reckoned among the greatest poets of India, if not of the world. Although probably the most orthodox Moslem of all the Sufi poets, he exercises almost as complete a spell over the Hindus of Sind as over the Mussulmans. His skilful use of the preference,

of Sindhis for "kámi" or amatory poems to teach Divine, through human, love, and his acquaintance with the occupations of the people, have helped to maintain his hold on all classes. His verses are still recited to reverent crowds at his shrine. Mr. Sorley has discussed his poems and his philosophy in a most scholarly manner while his rendering gives the poet's meaning in a variety of metres which prevents monotony.

He has also made an elaborate study of the history and conditions of Sind, to show the background of the poet's life and work.

This affects the balance of the book, and there is little contemporary evidence about Sind during the poet's lifetime. Much of Mr. Sorley's matter is drawn from preceding and subsequent periods, and deals with circumstances that could only have affected the poet in a remote degree. A reference to the *Journal* of the Sind Historical Society would have led Mr. Sorley to amend some of his statements. These are, however, minor points and the historical survey is in itself valuable. There should be nothing but gratitude for the manner in which the merits of the Sindhi poet are introduced to English-speaking readers.

B. 583. P. R. CADELL.

JAṬĀSIṂHANANDI'S VARĀṄGACARITRA. Edited by A. N. UPADHYE. Māṇikacandra D. Jaina Granthamālā, No. 40. 7½ × 5, pp. xiv + 395. Bombay: Māṇikacandra D. Jaina Granthamālā, 1938. Rs. 3.

BHAVASAṂKRĀNTI SŪTRA AND BHAVASAṂKRĀNTI ŚĀSTRA. Edited by N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI. 8½ × 5½, pp. xliii + 112. Adyar: Adyar Library, 1938.

Professor Upadhye's excellent editions of Jaina works are by now well known to scholars. The first of the above books contains a hitherto unknown *dharmakathā*, attributed on fairly good evidence to Jaṭā-Siṁhanandi and assigned to the close of the seventh century A.D. The text rests on two MSS., which, though old, are defective, and the editor has

done his best to produce a readable version by putting forward a number of conjectural amendments, most of which are acceptable; as they are relegated to the notes, scholars will have no difficulty in improving on them, if they can. The work is written in a semi-kāvya style, which, as the editor points out, has been far more influenced by Aśvaghoṣa than by the later poets, thus suggesting, like the sculpture of Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda, the popularity of the Buddhist poet in Southern India.

The other contains a retranslation from the Tibetan into Sanskrit of a sūtra and of a tract attributed to Nāgārjuna on passing from one existence to another. The editor's learning has enabled him to restore many passages from quotations and analogous versions, but elsewhere some hesitation may be felt at times about his rendering, nor is it easy to follow him in assigning the sūtra to the Sarvāstivādins instead of to the Mādhyamikas.

B. 489, 490. E. H. JOHNSTON.

THE CHACHNĀMA (PERSIAN TEXT). Edited by 'UMAR BIN MUḤAMMAD DĀŪDPOTA for the Persian Texts Society, Ḥaydarābād, Deccan.

This is a history of the conquest of Sindh by Muḥammad bin Qāsim, who was sent by Hajjāj bin Yūsuf and invaded Sindh by way of Shīrāz and Mekrān in 92 A.H. during the Khalīfat of 'Abdu'l-Walīd bin 'Abdu'l-Malik. There had been previous attacks on Sindh, dating from as early as 15 A.H. The Chachnāma relates the course of events during Muḥammad bin Qāsim's successful invasion, but a considerable introduction describes the rise of the Brahman adventurer Chach who became Chamberlain to King Sāhasī and on that King's death succeeded him and married his widow—a lady who had fallen in love with him during her husband's lifetime. How far the chronicle is trustworthy is not known. The editor regards the account of Muḥammad bin Qāsim's death as devoid of truth. However, the book is based upon an

ancient source, and it may be as truthful as most early chronicles. In any case it gives us interesting glimpses of the state of the outlying Indian province of Sindh at the beginning of the eighth century of our era.

"Chachnāma" was not the original name of this work. It appears to have been called "Fathnāma"; Mr. Dāūdpota thinks Chachnāma a corruption of this word, but the facts given above may be sufficient to account for the change. It is not an original work, but a translation, dated 613 A.H., of an older Arabic book written by an unknown author (perhaps, Mr. Dāūdpota thinks, named Khwāja Imām Ibrāhīm) sometime between 215 and 255 A.H. This original was entitled Minhāju'd-Dīn wa'l-Mulk, and the Persian translator states that he found it in the possession of the Qāẓī of Bakhar. Many manuscripts of the Persian text exist, and they are described by Mr. Dāūdpota. They cannot be altogether satisfactory, for there are very numerous various readings at the foot of each page, and yet the meaning of the text is often very obscure. I, at least, have been obliged to content myself with understanding the general drift of many passages. And there are surely more misprints than those given in the list of errata. Thus on p. 229 سربرادر must be سرردار.

The Persian writer's name is 'Alī bin Hāmid bin Abī Bakr Al-Kūfī; he wrote in Persian, though himself an Arab, because Arabic was not well understood in Sindh. Practically nothing of his life is known. The editor adds some useful notes, mainly dealing with the places named; some of these places must remain doubtful. Mr. Dāūdpota's work is valuable, and may be thoroughly commended. But he might well have mentioned the English translation of the "Chachnama" made 40 years ago by Mirza Kalich Beg which forms the first volume of that gentleman's History of Sind printed by the Commissioner's Press at Karachi in 1900 A.D., a copy of which Sir Patrick Cadell has kindly lent me.

R. 496.

C. N. SEDDON.

REMARKS ON SIMILES IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE. By J. GONDA. 10 × 6, pp. 127. Wageningen: H. Veenman en Zonen, 1939. Gu. 3, 20.

This is another of Professor Gonda's admirable studies on the use of *alaṁkāras* in Sanskrit. Though professedly writing from a linguistic standpoint, he has much that is suggestive to say on the reasons which led Sanskrit authors to use similes with such freedom, and his points are enforced by his wide reading in many languages. Incidentally the passage so derogatory of the morals of Buddhist monks, which he quotes twice (pp. 46, 56), should be attributed, as I once tried to show elsewhere, to the late MM. Ganapati Sastri, not to the author of the *Daridracārudatta*, whose original text bore a very different meaning.

B. 529. E. H. JOHNSTON.

SHUJA-UD-DAULAH. By ASHIRBADI LAL SRIVASTAVA. Vol. I (1754–1765). $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. viii + 313. Calcutta: The Midland Press, 1939. Rs. 5 or 7*s*. 6*d*.

Professor Srivastava has done well to carry on the history of Oudh which he began with a volume on "The first two Nawabs of Oudh". In this new book he deals with the first eleven years of governorship by Shuja-ud-daulah. As in his previous work he has made excellent use of new material, particularly that now available in publications of Maratha records which supplement and correct the Persian authorities. News letters from the Maratha correspondents at the Oudh court narrate events as they happened and are often better evidence than recollections. The English and French authorities have also been examined.

Shuja-ud-daulah's character in early life was far from admirable. The author deals with it frankly and seems fully justified in arguing (p. 129) that the apprehensions of the English in Bengal that the Nawab intended in 1761 to invade Bihar were groundless. Two years later when the Emperor had joined him and Mir Qasim was a fugitive after

the massacre at Patna his ambition was increased by the chance of gaining arrears of the tribute from Bengal, nominally to be paid to the Emperor, but really to be appropriated by the Nawab himself. The narrative of his invasion and its failure is full of interesting detail, and the story ends for the present with the defeat of his Maratha ally Malhar Rao in the early summer of 1765 and Shuja-ud-daulah deciding to yield to the English.

Some of the defects noted in the earlier book are repeated here. Proof reading has been defective and the page and a half of errata omit a number of slips. The fort of "Butheea" taken by Balwant Singh (p. 28) is obviously Patita, and the pargana of Sarhar (p. 29) is really Barhar. For Pundurra (p. 32) read Pindra. The index is limited to proper names and where these occur often (Allahabad has nearly fifty references) there is nothing to show what each entry refers to, so that the index is difficult to use.

B. 521. R. BURN.

PREHISTORIC CIVILIZATION OF THE INDUS VALLEY. By K. N. DIKSHIT. Sir William Meyer Lectures, 1935. 10 × 6½, pp. 60, ills. 15. Madras: Madras University, 1939. Rs. 2.

The Indus Civilization is of such immense historical significance that any competent attempts to diffuse information about it are to be welcomed. That applies in a special measure to Mr. Dikshit's booklet since it will reach his fellow countrymen who, as heirs of that civilization, are the natural guardians of its monuments. A foot-note refers to a discovery made during 1936 in Meso-potamia, but no account is taken of the work at Chañhu-daro, and Mackay's second report on Mohenjo-daro was not apparently available in its final form. The picture presented is accordingly that already familiar five years ago. Its outlines are evoked in a competent and interesting manner, but need not be repeated here. I noted a few inaccuracies and

obscurities. The gratuitous statement on p. 51 that the human figure does not occur on the painted pottery is refuted by an amusing scene on a vase exhibited in the local museum at Harappa in 1932. In the interesting list of copper implements, which assembles much useful information not previously collected, we are puzzled to know what is meant by a " soldered copper celt " from Bengal. But Mr. Dikshit appreciates the importance of the sites he has helped to uncover, and is conscious of the problems they raise and the research necessary to solve these. The book should stimulate the requisite activity.

B. 548. V. GORDON CHILDE.

WARREN HASTINGS AND OUDH. By C. COLLIN DAVIES. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xv + 271. Oxford University Press. 12*s.* 6*d.*

The transactions of Warren Hastings in which Oudh was concerned include most of the incidents in his career that formed the basis of his impeachment, and are still brought up against him. It is satisfactory to find that Mr. Davies in this careful and well documented study agrees with the verdict, now generally accepted by impartial historians, that in these cases Hastings was either justified, or, at the worst, was compelled by circumstances, for most of which he had no responsibility, to take a line sterner and more unbending than his own inclination or unfettered judgment would have suggested. Mr. Davies does not hesitate to admit that it is impossible now to support the action of Hastings in regard to Faizulla Khan of Rampur, and that in his defence on other points he occasionally quibbled, and ignored, to the point of suppressing, evidence. It must, however, be remembered that he faced with indomitable courage enormous difficulties ; a hostile majority in Council which sought only to impair his influence and dignity ; untrustworthy subordinates in Oudh ; a discontented body of military officers ; subordinate governments, in Madras first incompetent, and later shamelessly corrupt, in Bombay

with a divergent policy. The spirit in which he faced such obstacles must be held far to outweigh the errors committed in the process of overcoming them.

While the author's conclusions regarding the Rohilla war may be in general accepted, he seems hardly fair to the British Commander, Champion. It is true that Champion entered on the campaign in a disgruntled spirit, and that he and his officers were ready to take their share in its plunder. The fact, however, that in spite of the certainty of such plunder he was opposed to the campaign is a proof of his honesty. It is not correct that Champion reported that Shuja-ud-Daulah's troops had taken no part in the actual fighting. His dispatch shows that the disciplined portion of those troops fought very creditably, and suffered heavier casualties than the Company's troops. What Champion said was that Shuja-ud-Daulah, with two-thirds of his men, remained well in the rear and did nothing but plunder. If Mr. Davies had included among his authorities "Soldiering in India", with its diary of Captain Allan Macpherson, Champion's A.D.C., he could hardly have written that the latter's reports of atrocities were founded solely on hearsay.

The Company's Agents at Lucknow, Middleton, and Bristow, proved unworthy, but one cannot help feeling some sympathy with them. Their first duty was to get the Nawab-Vazir to pay up his obligations to the Company. To do this, they had to take steps to ensure some efficiency in the collection of the revenues. But if they interfered too far with the internal arrangements they were liable to false charges and severe censures.

The truth is that the system of subsidiary alliance, adopted by Hastings in Oudh, and afterwards largely used by his successors elsewhere, while the best for the Company's interests, and the most comfortable for the bad or inefficient Ruler, was the worst possible for the people of the State. It guaranteed the Ruler against internal rebellion, and thus removed the principal natural check on misgovernment.

Mr. Davies' study, however, as a whole, further establishes Hastings in the estimation in which he is now deservedly held.

B. 466. P. R. CADELL.

THE BAIGA. By VERRIER ELWIN. 9 × 6, pp. xxxi + 550, maps 4, ills. 105, figs. 30. London: John Murray, 1939. £1 10*s*.

Dr. Hutton, who supplies a Foreword to this interesting study of a small tribe in the Central Provinces, considers it difficult to write in moderate and judicial terms of Mr. Elwin's achievement. Others may find the task not insuperable. The Baigas are a primitive people of some 30,000, living in the Central Provinces and accustomed to support themselves by the *bewar* system of cultivation. *Bewar*, known elsewhere as *kumri* or *jhum*, involves the destruction of the forest by fire, in order to grow grain in the ashes. To the Baiga, the earth is too sacred to be profaned by the use of the plough. Hence, the almost entire prohibition of *bewar* in the interest of forest preservation has told heavily against the prosperity of the Baiga and similarly situated tribes in India. Mr. Elwin makes a well-phrased plea for relaxation of these restrictions.

As was to be expected, the Baiga social organization shows signs of an earlier totemistic basis (p. 174). The instances of tree totems discovered at Amtera in Niwas might well have been more thoroughly investigated. The names of the totem trees given are well known as totems elsewhere in India, though the *Bauhinia variegata*, if correctly named, seems to have taken the place of the *Bauhinia racemosa*.

The Baigas in their beliefs and customs display all the well-known features of primitive tribes in other localities. We note (p. 234) some further details of the rather rare practice of making *phul-mitras*, i.e. flower-friends, which has been mentioned also in Sarat Chandra Roy's *Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa* (p. 153). We find on p. 284 an account of an axe marriage prescribed as a preliminary to the marriage of a bachelor

to a widow, an obvious substitute for the more usual tree-wedding in widespread vogue.

To Baiga dreams and Baiga sexual practices the writer devotes a somewhat over liberal share of his very noteworthy work. As in the case of a recent book published on the Lepchas, the intention seems to have been to throw light on sexual inhibitions and their freudian results; but the reader will soon gather that the term inhibition is completely uncalled for in regard to Baiga flirtations. Three final small points: the *suvasini* or female attendant at a wedding, usually a married woman with her husband living, here seems to be an unmarried girl. *Halrakki vakkal*, on p. 517, is a slip for the well-known *Halvakki vakkal* caste in Kanara. Dr. Crooke's well-known work has been quoted frequently from an obsolete edition. Mr. Elwin must be congratulated on a valuable contribution to Indian ethnography. The work is well illustrated, and contains a glossary of vernacular terms used in the text.

B. 515. R. E. ENTHOVEN.

THE NAKED NAGAS. By CHRISTOPH VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF. 9 × 6, pp. ix + 243, ills. 37, map 1. Methuen and Co., London, 1939.

Indian ethnologists are already in debt to writers such as Hutton, Mills, and others for valuable studies of the Angami, Sema, Lhota, and Ao Naga tribes, who vary the monotony of life on the north-eastern frontiers of Assam and Burma by cutting off heads for spirit scaring purposes. The writer of the present work succeeded, with official assistance, in penetrating these remote regions to reside for a time among the Konyak Nagas, of whom he gives a delightful and most sympathetically written description. He even pursued his investigations on the further side of the frontier when accompanying Mills and a small punitive force to Pangsho in the Paktoi hills. On this occasion the Panso tribe, against whom the expedition was directed, nearly brought these

studies to an untimely end. The writer, however, was fortunate enough to return not only with his own head undisturbed, but bearing four heads that had been removed from certain Panso victims. The writer brings away pleasant recollections of his sojourn among the Konyaks, who, apart from their playful fondness for other people's heads, are said by him to display an amazing tactfulness. "Rarely is anything mentioned before a man that he might find embarrassing. 'His mind might be hurt' is the literal translation of the stereotyped explanation for such consideration" (p. 110).

The book is admirably illustrated with pictures of leading types and village life.

The writer (Chapter V) is somewhat severely critical of the work of the Baptist Mission among the Nagas, and appears to hold that much harm can be wrought by interference with primitive customs as, for instance, the substitution of tea for rice-beer. He omits certain standard points of interest which the authors of the Ethnographic Survey of India would have put in the forefront, such, for instance, as evidence of any former totemistic organization. But the book is readable, and the public interested in such studies will find it compares favourably with many more orthodox productions.

B. 463. R. E. ENTHOVEN.

SOME INFLUENCES THAT MADE THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA. By M. RUTHNASWAMY. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. viii + 660. London: Luzac and Co. 21*s*.

In his disarmingly modest preface the author makes the "flagitious excuse that it is easier to write a big than a small book". He hopes, however, that "the effort will irritate others into more solid work in the field of Indian administrative history". If such workers appear, their irritation, at least, can be guaranteed. There is neither index nor table of contents. It would, however, be ungenerous not to recognize the wealth of material available for the industrious digger, who is able to disregard the author's habit of leaping from one

era to another without warning. It is only possible to give a brief suggestion of the contents of his six long chapters. In the first, on the commercial origins of the Administration, he is, perhaps, too ready to ascribe to commercial habits the ordinary English method of administering by Boards and Councils, a method which had the obvious advantage in the circumstances of the early Presidencies of checking individual eccentricity or excess. It was also consistent with that dualism of Government which has always been a feature of English administration in India long before the days when dyarchy was proclaimed as a new invention. The author concludes that the system of the East India Company was a memorable experiment, and its record one of which its historians need not be ashamed.

In the second chapter, on Military affairs, the author is, we believe, wrong in thinking that the Company was not averse from war if an expansion of trade or territory was likely. There are too many injunctions to the contrary on record, as, for instance, that in 1741, quoted by the author. While he rightly calls the Mutiny of 1857 the supreme folly of the Army in India, and laments its consequences, he fails to state that that Mutiny was practically confined to the Army in Bengal. The Bombay and Madras Armies stood firm in their loyalty. While many will share his uneasiness at the "Panjabisation" of the present Army, and his desire for a national force, obviously such an army can only be recruited from races willing and able to face modern conditions.

The third chapter on Land Revenue contains the most interesting matter, though it is not brought up to date. It emphasizes the great value of the ryotwari system in Bombay and most of Madras, and shows how the combination of executive and judicial functions was inevitable and had excellent results. As the author points out, the saying of Munro that whoever regulates the assessment of the land holds in his hands the peace of the country is still justified.

It is inevitable that a writer in Madras should, as is done

in the fourth chapter, emphasize the cost of the Frontier to India as a whole. But the author realizes the necessity for its maintenance, though he perhaps scarcely visualizes the possibility of invasion by a foreign power.

In his remaining chapters he seeks to examine the influence of every Department on the administration. Curiously he makes no mention of the introduction of judges from the English Bar and the consequent modelling of Indian Courts on English methods. Nor does he mention the establishment of Legislative Councils which have closely followed English Parliamentary procedure. It is, perhaps, this omission which has led him to the clearly erroneous statement that public opinion did not begin to influence the Indian Administration till about 1885, "the years of the beginning of the Indian National Congress, local self-government, and a free if restricted Press." The fairness of the book may be gathered from his Epilogue. "Taken all in all, the British administrative system in India is one of the noblest structures whose records illuminate the annals of the Art of Administration."

B. 415. P. R. CADELL.

ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE UNDER THE PALLAVAS. By C. MINAKSHI. (Madras University Historical Series, No. 13.) 10 × 7, pp. i + ii + i + i + 316, pls. 10, map 1. Madras: University of Madras, 1938. Rs. 5 or 9*s.* 6*d.*

ANCIENT INDIA: History of Ancient India for 1,000 years in four volumes (from 900 B.C. to A.D. 100). A marvellous array of wholly new and eye-opening theories, substantiated with facts and figures from coins, inscriptions and authoritative writers. By TRIBHUVANDAS L. SHAH. Vols. I, II. 10 × 7, pp. 38 + 386, pls. 17; pp. 29 + 444 + i, pls. 21. Baroda: Shashikant and Co., 1939. Vol. I, 7*s.*; Vol. II, 10*s.*

The first of these books, in which Dr. Minakshi has embodied a large part of the results of researches made by her under

the direction of Professor Nilakanta Sastri, is good and useful. A few of the sections are somewhat inadequate in their presentation, punctuation is often erratic, and there are occasional defects in English idiom, while among the views put forward there are perhaps one or two to which not every reader will assent; but on the whole the work shows sound judgment and scholarly method. The twenty chapters composing it give first an historical introduction on the date, origin, and connections of the Pallava dynasty (Dr. Minakshi rightly lays emphasis on the signs of Northern origin), and then deals with administration (comprising symbols of monarchy, officers of government, army and navy, revenue, weights and measures, irrigation, famines, provincial and local administration, and village life), and finally with social life, which is treated in a somewhat encyclopædic series of chapters discussing some aspects of Pallava society, religion (especially in regard to persecutions and human sacrifice), the seats of learning of the Hindus, Buddhists, and Jains, dancing, and painting, ending with a section containing a little about literature and much more on the history of Sundaramūrtti and Nandivarman III.

Dr. Shah's bulky volumes endeavour to write the history of ancient India from a Jain point of view; they make us think of Dr. Johnson's classic description of a leg of mutton as "ill fed, ill killed, ill kept, and ill dressed". Dr. Shah argues that Aśoka and Priyadarśin were not the same, that Priyadarśin was a Jain and set up all the Edicts to promote Jainism, and that "Sandrocottus" was not Candragupta Maurya but Aśoka; and his arguments for these and his other theories are worth precisely nothing, because he lacks all historical perspective and critical judgment. The references to early Indian history, and even the legends, which occur in old Jain literature are certainly well worth consideration, and a scholar who should critically apply them to help in the elucidation of historical problems would render good service to Clio. But this Dr. Shah has failed to do. With infinite

labour and ingenuity he has built up a vast series of airy hypotheses based upon legends accepted with blind credulity, which is neither real history nor genuine legend. Moreover, the form of the work is highly unsatisfactory. Apparently it was first written in Gujarati, and has been translated into English (not always well) by Mr. R. J. Desai, who must share with the author responsibility for the innumerable errors, inconsistencies, and barbarous mutilations in the spelling of proper names (a typical specimen of these is "the Gnat clan", i, p. 27, in which is disguised the name of the Jñātās). Finally, the references to literature, especially to Jain texts, are wholly inadequate.

B. 391. B. 394. A. Y. B.

Islam

LE DICT DE PADMA. PADMA THANG YIG. MS. de Lithang. Traduit du Thibétain par GUSTAVE-CHARLES TOUSSAINT. Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises. Vol. III, pp. 540. Paris: E. Leroux, 1933.

This work is a complete translation of the famous compilation in which the legend of Padmasambhava, the Guru Rin po c'e, as he is usually called in Tibet, has been set out at length. The work of course is not unique. Round the celebrated figure of the so-called founder of Lamaism centred a vast literature which has not yet been properly studied, but which is likely to throw great light upon the traditions and religious development of Tibet. Mr. Toussaint is to be congratulated for attempting a full translation of such an extensive and difficult work as the *Urgyan Guru Pad ma ạbyuṅ gnas kyi rnam t'ar rgyas pa gser gyi p'reṅ pa t'ar lam gsal byed.*

But, as I had occasion to point out when reviewing in this *Journal* the translation of the biography of Nāropā [1] by the late Professor Grünwedel, it must be admitted that very few translators of Tibetan works seem to have as yet realized

[1] pp. 677–688, *à propos* the legend of Nāropā.

that mere knowledge of the Tibetan language is not enough for arriving at the proper meaning of these difficult texts, which are, as a rule, permeated with mystic ideas and continually refer to tantric practices or to esoteric doctrines.

Art, Archæology, Anthropology

L'ART KHMÈR CLASSIQUE. Monuments du Quadrant Nord-Est. By HENRI PARMENTIER. Two volumes. 11 × 7. Vol. I, Text, pp. 364, pls. 72, figs 59; Vol. II, pls. 73 (Architectural Drawings). Paris: Les Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1939.

My old friend, M. Henri Parmentier, has now retired from active service in the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, but he is happily still continuing his labours on behalf of the School, labours devoted to a comprehensive study of the wonderful series of monuments in brick and stone left by the ancient Khmer.

Some years ago he published his work on the Primitive or Pre-Angkorian period of Khmer Art in Vols. XXI and XXII of the School's special publications (together with a supplement in Vol. XXXV of the School's Journal, pp. 1–115).

He is now engaged on the formidable study of the classic period of Khmer art, which dates from the first foundation of Angkor at the beginning of the ninth century and continues right up to the fifteenth century, when the Khmer Empire was finally crushed at the hands of the Thai (Siamese).

For the purpose of his present study, M. Parmentier has, in default of any known political or geographical division of the country, cut it into four quadrants, taking the city of Angkor as the centre, but reserving the group of Angkor itself for a separate volume. The work under review deals with the north-eastern quadrant, which is one of the richest in remains of the classic period.

The first to be examined is the group of KOH KER,

which has not yet been the subject of any detailed study. The second is the important temple of PRAH VIHAR, which is situated on the crest of the Dang Rek range of hills to the north of Cambodia. The third is the temple, WAT PH'U, which is situated near Bassac on the Mekhōng. The fourth is the exquisite temple in miniature, BANTEAI SREI, about twelve miles from Angkor, of which an important study has already been published in Vol. I of the School's Memoirs. The fifth is the temple of KHNA SEN KEV, of which the principal attraction is the series of bas-reliefs which have only been recently discovered.

In addition to these five principal groups and monuments, a large number of smaller temples are examined and discussed.

The group of Koh Ker, which I have not visited, stands to-day in a region, poor and dry, which is completely deserted, lying some miles south-east of Prah Vihar. Why it was chosen is a mystery, but from inscriptions discovered there, it was undoubtedly for a period the Royal capital of the Empire, between the years 928 and 944 A.D. Jayavarman IV became the sole reigning monarch in 928, but it is thought that he may already have established himself at Koh Ker in 921, while his nephews Harsavarman I and Içanavarman II were still holding the reins of power at Angkor.

On the death of Jayavarman IV in 944, his successor, Rajendravarman II, abandoned Koh Ker and Angkor once more regained the premier position.

All the monuments, except one, can be dated in the reign of Jayavarman IV, and none of them appear to have received any later additions. Koh Ker thus represents a special period in the development of Khmer architecture and sculpture.

To Prah Vihar, or The Royal Temple, I once paid a visit, in 1929. From the foot of the long stairway (of 160 steps) to the last and largest building on the edge of the precipice, 2,300 feet above sea-level, the group extends for half a mile up the range of hills, and is the outcome of a remarkable

conception on the part of the Khmer king or kings who built it. I have already described my visit in *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (1935), where may be seen illustrations of the principal monuments, and will only say here that, from the inscriptions discovered, the building of this magnificent temple appears to have begun in the reign of Yaçovarman (A.D. 889–910), but that it was much enlarged in the reign of Suriyavarman I (A.D. 1002–1049), and again in that of Suriyavarman II (A.D. 1112–1152). It was originally dedicated to Çiva in his aspect of "Lord of the mountains".

M. Parmentier states categorically that the temple was built exclusively for Cambodia and not for the northern provinces (from which the approach is naturally much easier), as these provinces were not included in the Khmer Empire until after the time of Yaçovarman.

Wat Ph'ū represents the last important monument built by the Khmer in the northern region of their Empire, and, although it is difficult to date the whole, certain parts of it may certainly be ascribed to the middle or end of the eleventh century A.D.

Banteai Srei, near Angkor, is becoming well known to visitors. The beautiful pediment (depicting the Apsaras, Tilottama, with the two Asuras), of which I gave an illustration in *Buddhist Art in Siam*, has been removed to the Musée Guimet in Paris. It is one of the finest pieces of exterior sculptural decoration that I have ever seen.

The temple of Khna Sen Kev M. Parmentier considers more important than it has been deemed hitherto. It consists of a sanctuary with chapel attached in the centre, with a library building on either side, and surrounded by four *Gopuras* in the usual form of a Maltese cross, one at each cardinal point. The execution of the building is above the average, but the state of the temple is ruinous to-day owing to the use of faulty materials. It is not known to which god the temple was dedicated, and it is not possible to ascribe

to it an exact date, but it seems to belong to a style of art prevalent in the period of Udayadityavarman II (A.D. 1049–1066).

The illustrations are excellent, and the plans most carefully drawn, but a large scale map of the district would have been useful.

B. 480. REGINALD LE MAY.

FIGURINES FROM SELEUCIA ON THE TIGRIS (1927–1932). By WILHELMINA VAN INGEN. 11 × 10½, pp. xxi + 374, pls. 93, plans 2, figs. 676. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1939. $5.

The American excavations of 1927–1932 at Seleucia uncovered, on two separate sites, four strata, three Parthian, one Seleucid, the last not fully explored. Some 3,000 figurines from Seleucia are now known, mostly clay; this book catalogues and describes 1,716 of them, 676 being figured, and gives references for all the others known to the authoress. They are "shocking examples of craftmanship", mere factory work, usually cast from moulds, though sometimes handwork is superadded; very few, however, of the actual moulds were found. The catalogues are arranged according to types: the Mother-goddess in many variations; men and women, nude or draped; grotesques, soldiers, horsemen, musicians, dancers, children, animals, and many heads. An occasional head of Hellenistic type and three lifelike heads of camels alone relieve the general uncouthness; but the presence of an Indian humped bull is noteworthy. One may speculate as to whether the objects be religious or decorative; but their chief importance consists in this, that they do *not* show a gradual change from Hellenistic to Oriental types and styles. Possibly there is slightly more Greek influence in the two earlier levels, but Oriental influence is always present. This has no bearing on the question of the influence of Oriental civilization upon the Greeks; an Englishman is not influenced

by Chinese civilization because he has some Chinese vases in his house. The authoress in her Introduction notes that there is little in these figurines which can be called exclusively Parthian; Parthian art is eclectic, and is the re-emergence of the native tradition, which differs at Seleucia and Doura. I may add that the historical Parthians were a military aristocracy, and "Parthian" art is only a name for the art of the countries under their rule; the large material from the Parthian city at Taxila, when brought into comparison, will probably differ from both Seleucia and Doura. She would like to see the Parthian homeland excavated. It would be interesting, if ever possible; we might get a local art of the oasis-dwellers, or affinities with the art of the steppes; but I doubt if it would throw much light on the Parthian military aristocracy.

The authoress may be congratulated on the way she has carried out a laborious task. There is an index and bibliography.

B. 494. W. W. TARN.

CULTURAL RELATIONS ON THE KANSU-TIBETAN BORDER. By R. B. EKVALL. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xiii + 87, map 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

A social-anthropological treatise dealing with a region concerning which little has been written. The author was born and lived there intermittently for 21 years.

B. 538.

UR EXCAVATIONS, Vol. V. The Ziggurat and its Surroundings. By Sir LEONARD WOOLLEY. 13 × 10, pp. xiv + 150, pls. 87, figs. 10. Publication of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, to Mesopotamia. New York: The Carnegie Corporation, 1939.

The first excavation on the Ziggurat at Ur was undertaken by Mr. J. E. Taylor, when British Consul at Basra, and his

report was published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1855. The sumptuous volume before us is the fifth volume of the definitive publication of excavations carried out during the years 1923–1934. In all but three of these years some time was spent on the Ziggurat and its surroundings, and this volume contains Sir Leonard Woolley's final conclusions about the planning, structure, and history of the group. The book has been beautifully produced by the Oxford University Press. The text, however, leaves one reader at least asking for more: he would have liked to be told, for example, how these buildings compare with others of the same type. Perhaps we shall learn more about this from the next volume which is to be devoted to the Temenos wall.

The Ziggurat at Ur had a long history: the mud-brick core of the structure may go back to the first dynasty at Ur or earlier, but it went through various metamorphoses before the fourth century B.C., when Ur was probably deserted. Sir Leonard is chiefly concerned with two of these metamorphoses, the form which was given to it by Ur-Nannu of the third dynasty (2300–2150 B.C.), and a later reconstruction by the antiquarian king Nabonidus about 550 B.C. Ur-Nannu's Ziggurat measured at the base 62·50 m. by 43: its corners were orientated on the cardinal points of the compass; it had three stages, the bottom one was over 11 m. high, the second, which was considerably set back, is estimated to have been about half the height of the first, and the third about half the height of the second. Three flights of steps led to the platform at the top of the first stage, one at right angles to the NE. face, the other two alongside the same face, starting respectively from the NE. and SE. corners; two flights in line with the first of these led across the upper stages to the temple platform on the summit. At intervals of 4·40 m. the walls of the first stage were relieved by buttresses each 2·60 m. wide, except at the corners, where they were widened to give a greater air of stability to the structure: the walls were slightly convex on plan, the segments being set out

on an arc "which in the centre of the long sides has a depth of 0·50 m." The interior was of mud brick built, so far as could be seen, in regular courses: the outside was faced with a 2·50 m. skin of red bricks, many of them stamped with the name of Ur-Nannu. Besides a strong batter, the walls had a marked entasis. The building, therefore, elementary as it is in certain traditional respects, had refinements which show some of the sensitiveness one would expect in Sumerian work, and it is these one would like to see compared with what has been found in other Sumerian constructions. A sketch by Miss Marjorie Duffell which is the frontispiece of the volume shows what the editor thinks the Ziggurat may have looked like when Nannar's temple, of which there is no trace, was standing on the summit and a sacred grove may have been planted on the first platform.

About the changes made by Nabonidus, of whose Ziggurat there is also a restoration by Miss Duffell, Sir Leonard has modified the views he once held: the ascent from the first platform to the summit was radically altered and the new Ziggurat may have had seven stages, variously coloured perhaps like those described by Herodotus.

In the surroundings of the Ziggurat the most striking discovery is a recessed façade on a bastion erected by Warad-Sin in the Larsa period (about 2000 B.C.), and the most striking feature in this façade are two columns, one on each side of a door, which were built of bricks moulded and bossed apparently to imitate the trunk of a date palm. If this is the case, it is an evidence, in our eyes, of the modernity of the builder, rather than of his archaism: the comparison made by the editor with primitive work at Tarkhan in Egypt seems to be irrelevant.

B. 403.

J. W. Crowfoot.

UN GRAND PORT DISPARU-TYR. By A. POIDEBARD. Haut Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et Liban: Service des Antiquités. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, Tome XXIV. Librairie Orientaliste. Texte, 11 × 9, pp. viii + 75, atlas, 12 × 9½, maps 3, pls. 29. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1939. Frs. 250.

These slender volumes are the proper sequel to Père Poidebard's work on the line of the Roman *limes* across the Syrian desert. They deal with the greatest of the ports on the seaboard. It was a much more difficult subject. It was easy to photograph it from the air, but this was only the first step; excavations had to be carried out on the shore and these had to be supplemented by a series of operations under the sea, calling for new methods of research. Native divers were engaged to make preliminary reconnaissances; they were followed by men equipped with diving apparatus and cameras adapted for submarine work; the remains of sea walls and breakwaters now under water had to be found and cleared and scraped; samples of rock and stone had to be collected; and submarine photography is in itself a very tricky task. However, with the help of a galaxy of experts, naval officers, aviators, surveyors, geologists, and marine engineers, Père Poidebard triumphed over all obstacles.

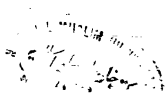
The principal harbour was on the south side of the island: the chief mole protecting it was 750 m. long and from 7·50 to 8 m. thick; the harbour had two entrances, one *en chicane* at the west end, the other in the middle of the long mole; inside there were two chief basins, a dry dock for repairs and a fresh water reservoir to supply the ships; the quays rose about 1·50 m. above the water line; the whole was commanded by the city walls, and there were detached towers at each end. Outside this a line of reefs running from north to south, parallel to the coast, was utilized by means of a series of breakwaters to create a vast protected roadstead. On one reef constructional works stretched over a line 390 m. long and

30 m. across: on another the length was 500 m.: masonry was found rising perpendicularly from a flat rock base once or twice the height of the diver. The most southerly point of the second of these breakwaters was about 2 kilometres west of the mainland and nearly 2½ kilometres SSW. of the west end of the harbour, and there may be others farther out to sea. Most of these works were constructed in the same style as the towers on shore, of blocks of a pudding stone quite different in character from the rock of which the reefs are formed: the core of the walls is built of blocks measuring about 1 m. by 0·40 by 0·50, laid as headers and faced by huge blocks about 3 m. square, some of them originally bolted together with metal dowels. In places there are traces of secondary constructions, and in places the core is of very hard concrete.

What is the date of the more massive works? Père Poidebard speaks very guardedly, but from his comparison of them with remains at Sidon and Ruad it is plain that he would like to refer them to the great days of the Phœnicians under Hiram of Tyre and his successors. I believe such a reference to be justified. The long rows of headers, the height of the courses, the deep upper draft on some of the blocks, all remind me of masonry at Samaria and Megiddo which certainly goes back to this period. The secondary constructions may be of the Roman period, for it is generally held that the chief medieval port lay on the north side of the city.

Some very beautiful air-photographs of the ports of Sidon, Ruad, Jebeil, and Carthage, and of a submerged village under the lake of Homs, conclude a work on which both writers and producers are most warmly congratulated. It gives one a new idea of the greatness of Phœnician sea power.

B. 424.

J. W. Crowfoot.

La Déesse 'Anat. Poeme de Ras Shamra. By Charles Virolleaud. Tome IV. 11 × 9, pp. vi + 113, pls. 13. Paris: Geuthner, 1938.

This poem, portions of which have previously appeared in the periodical *Syria*, is connected with the larger cycle conveniently known as "the Poem of Ba'al". The central theme of that poem is the seasonal combat between Aleyan-Ba'al, god of the rains, and Mōt, god of the drought, for dominion over the earth. The present extracts describe how 'Anat, the sister of Ba'al, restores him after his discomfiture, prepares for his installation as king, launches an attack upon Mōt, and expels his followers from the palace (or temple) which they have occupied.

The text, inscribed upon a number of fragmentary and often unconnected tablets, is reconstructed with the editor's usual skill and ingenuity. Especially admirable are the neat and meticulous hand copies of the original cuneiform.

A few points of detail:—

In V. AB, C. 23, *abn brq* is surely the Accadian *aban birqi* "thunderbolt" (cf. King, *Magic*, xxi, 17; *aban birqa išāta*). In V. AB, D. 31, there is no need to emend *td'* to *tdm'*, the line *'ln pnh td'* meaning literally "upon her face she sweated", sc. in excitement (cf. Arabic وذع, etc.). Ibid. 43, *klt* is surely the Hebrew כְּלֵיתִי rather than כַּלָּת "bride". In V. AB, D. 71, the fragmentary *yb'r . . . rnh* should surely be restored *yb'r . . . (q)rnh*, taking *qrn* in the sense of "ray, beam". In V. AB, E. 36, *en belht qlṣt* means, I suggest, "there is no turpitude in goddesses," the word *qlṣt* connecting, by metathesis, with Arabic لقص, etc. In V. AB, F. 7, *'br gbl 'br q'l* surely means "traverse mountain, traverse hill", *gbl* being the Arabic جبل and *q'l* the Arabic قَوْعَلَة, etc. In VI. AB, ii, 11, may not *ğr* equate with the Hebrew עוֹר "skin", as apparently also in 1 Danel, 173 (*psğm ğr* "they that lacerate their skin"?), the traditional derivation of this noun then demanding reconsideration?

These are but a few tentative points. The reviewer's fuller treatment of the text appears in *Iraq*, Autumn, 1939. Differences in detail, however, in no way impair one's indebtedness to M. Virolleaud for yet another monument of careful and resourceful scholarship.

B. 402. THEODOR H. GASTER.

Miscellaneous

SYRJÄNISCHE CHRESTOMATHIE MIT GRAMMATIKALISCHEM ABRISS UND ETYMOLOGISCHEM WÖRTERVERZEICHNISS. By T. E. UOTILA. *Apuneuvoja suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten opintoja varten* (= *Hilfsmittel für das studium der finnisch-ugrischen sprachen*) VI. 9 × 6, pp. viii + 191. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1938. 30 Finnish marks.

Syrjän (or, to use the official Russian name, Komi) is a Finno-Ugrian language spoken by some 250,000 people spread over a wide area in Russia—in the Governments of Vologda, Archangel, Vjatka, and Perm'. The series of which this work is No. VI is primarily intended for the finno-ugrist beginning the study of those Finno-Ugrian languages which are rather inaccessible—either geographically or by reason of the lack of grammars and dictionaries. (The other works in the series deal with Lappish, Votyak-Udmurt, Karelian, Modvin and Cheremiss-Mari, respectively.) The present volume starts with specimens of Syrjän folk-literature (stories, riddles, proverbs, and poetry) from various dialects, *viz.* Northern dialects (Middle Vychegda and Sysola) [pp. 1–26] and Southern dialects (Jus'va, Kosa and Jazva) [pp. 26–31]; there follows a selection from the written literature of Syrjän (poetry and prose) [pp. 32–45]: two poems by Kuratov (1867)—one being a translation from Schiller—a poem by Cheusov (1904); then post-War literature selected principally from Lytkin's *Komi gižyśjas* (1926); this section also includes

St. Stephen's translation of the Lord's Prayer into Syrjän (c. A.D. 1370). Then follows a sketch of the grammar [pp. 46–61], and, finally [pp. 62–188], a glossary with etymological notes.

Dr. Uotila has made an intensive study of Syrjän—witness such large and important philological works as his *Zur geschichte des konsonantismus in den permischen sprachen*—and he is to be congratulated on the publication of the present work which contains much material not readily accessible. The extracts afford a representative selection of reading material and the difficult grammar of the language is clearly and concisely presented. But it is the etymological notes in the glossary which will be of most use to the specialist, for, at the present time, the current etymologies of Finno-Ugrian words can in general only be ascertained from references in periodical literature.

I have only one criticism. Syrjän is a difficult language (and as difficult for a Finn as for an Englishman) and it is virtually impossible for a beginner to learn to read it from the extracts provided; an interlinear word-for-word translation and copious notes should have been given. This lack is not, however, Dr. Uotila's fault, for he had of course to conform to the other volumes of the series which all exclude such aids.

B. 375. ALAN S. C. ROSS.

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A Literary Device Common to Homer and the East

By R. O. WINSTEDT

THERE is a once popular Malay romance, the *Hikayat Indraputra*.[1] It and the Malay recension of the *Ramayana* are cited in a Malay work of Muslim theology[2] in A.D. 1643 as examples of infidel works suitable for sanitary purposes unless the name of Allah occurred in them. Probably the romance was compiled in fifteenth century Malacca, and to its author, as to so many Malay authors of romance, may be appositely applied Virginia Woolf's delicate analysis of Sidney's *Arcadia*[3]: "He had no notion when he set out where he was going. Telling stories, he thought, was enough—one could follow another interminably. But where there is no end in view, there is no sense of direction to draw us on. Nor, since it is part of his scheme to keep his characters simply bad and simply good without distinction, can he gain variety from the complexity of character. To supply change and movement he must have recourse to mystification. These changes of dress, these disguises of princes as peasants, of men as women serve instead of psychological subtlety to relieve the stagnancy of people collected together with nothing to talk about. But when the charm of that childish device falls flat, there is no breath left to fill his sails. Who is talking, and to whom, and about what we no longer feel sure." Nor does even the Malay of to-day care any longer. But to the comparative student of Oriental literature the *Hikayat Indraputra*, like many other Malay pastiches, has an interest from the varied sources of its interminable tapestry.

[1] *Hikayat Indraputra.* R. O. Winstedt, *JRAS.*, Straits Branch, No. 85 (1922), pp. 46–53.

[2] The date of the *Ht. Indraputra.* R. O. Winstedt, ibid., No. 82 (1920), pp. 145–6.

[3] *The Common Reader*, Second Series, Virginia Woolf.

For it contains *motifs* from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, an Indian version of the swan-maiden myth, chapter-headings after the Persian formula in the Malay translation of the romance of Amir Hamza, and places and djinns with Persian and Arabic names.

On pp. 117–119 of the MS. of this romance in the library of our Society (Maxwell Malay MSS. 1) Raja Talela Shah, father of one of the hero's many brides, is awaiting the arrival of Indraputra, who has been invited to come and slay a demon that is killing the people of Samanta Beranta. As the head of the young hero's escort passes, Raja Talela Shah turns to his son and asks, "Indra Jilani! is that Indraputra?" And Indra Jilani makes answer, "Nay, your highness. That is Ghuran, captain to the djinn Raja Gohar," and he tells of the captain's fight with Indraputra, so that Raja Talela Shah marvels at the wiles and the might of Indraputra. A moment later there are seen 140 gilded pennons and umbrellas of many colours, under which two fairy princes ride on dragons with sword and quiver hanging from their shoulders and wondrous javelins in their hands. Again Raja Talela Shah asks his son, "Is that Indraputra?" And Indra Jilani makes answer, "Nay, your highness, those are two fairy princes from the lake called The Sea of Marvels." A moment later are seen 240 golden pennons and gilded umbrellas with fringes of pearls, under which ride Raja Puspa Pandai and his son Dinur Pandai with quivers of pearl inset with gold and jewels and with sharp swords and lances hanging from their shoulders. And again Raja Talela Shah asks, "Is that Indraputra?" And Indra Jilani makes answer, "Nay, your highness, those are Raja Puspa Pandai and his son with their retinue of wild beasts."

There is a Malay collection of beast tales, entitled the *Hikayat Pĕlandok Jinaka*[1] or "The story of Mousedeer the Wily" which also exhibits Indian and Persian influences.

[1] *Hikayat Pĕlandok*. O. T. Dussek, Malay Literature Series, 13, pp. 65–6, Singapore, 1915.

It too belongs to the period of Malay history when Hindu folk-lore was acquiring Muslim accretions. And it contains a passage that is clearly a copy or parody of the literary device used in the *Hikayat Indraputra* to give some life to the tedious description of a procession :—

" When he had got near Mousedeer the Wily, the King of the Lions beheld the subjects of the Shaikh of the Jungle World approaching in lines like the waves of the sea, and he said to the King of the Monkeys, ' Which is Mousedeer the Wily ? Show me where he is ! ' Then the King of the Monkeys bowed in homage, saying, ' Your highness, this is the King of the Bears with all his company.' Then the King of the Lions went nearer to where was the Shaikh of the Jungle World and he saw a great crowd and said, ' King of the Monkeys, is that the place where the Shaikh of the Jungle World is ? ' But the King of the Monkeys said, ' Nay, your highness. That is the King of the Jackals with all his subjects.' A moment later the King of the Lions saw mountainous rows of animals one after the other and he said, ' King of the Monkeys, is that Mousedeer the Wily ? ' But the King of the Monkeys made answer, ' Nay, your highness, they are his friends.' "

And so on and so on with deer and tiger and porcupine until at last the mouse-deer is reached.

Turn to the third book of the Iliad [1] where Priam is sitting on Troy tower along with elders too old for war, who talk in the " thin voice of grasshoppers ". Helen passes and Priam calls to her, " Come here, dear child, and tell me who is that warrior so goodly and so huge. There are others taller by a head but never yet have I seen one so handsome and so kingly." And Helen, fair among women, answers, " . . . That is Agamemnon, son of Atreus, a great king and mighty spearman. . . ." Then Priam sees Odysseus and asks, " Come, tell me, dear child, who is that ? Shorter by a head than Agamemnon but broader of chest and shoulders. His armour

[1] Iliad III, 149ff.

lies on the bountiful earth while like a bell-wether he ranges among the warrior ranks. Yes, he looks like a fleecy ram ordering a big flock of white ewes." Then Helen, sprung from Zeus, makes answer, "That is Laertes' son, crafty Odysseus, who was reared in rugged Ithaca and is skilled in all the ways of wile and cunning. . . ." And thirdly Priam sees Aias and asks, "Who is this other Achaian warrior, goodly and tall, outdoing the Argives in height and breadth of shoulder?" And Helen, fair among women, makes answer, "That is huge Aias, bulwark of the Achaians. And on the other side, among the Cretans, Idomeneus stands like a god with the Cretan captains gathered about him."

Flotsam from Greece has reached the Malay archipelago from time to time, probably never directly. In a dolmen of East Java [1] of the third century B.C. have been found blue Greek beads with white eyes that belong to the sixth century before Christ; but imitations of the same bead have been discovered along the ancient caravan-routes of China, whence local junks must have carried the genuine specimens to Java. The Malay is acquainted with some of Aesop's fables, but they must have come from India, where they occur in Jataka tales illustrated two centuries before Christ on a *stupa* at Bharhut. Several versions of the story of Danaë have found their way into Malayan literature, one at least of them from a Perso-Arabic recension of the pseudo-Callisthenes account of Alexander the Great.[2] In one recension of a Malay romance, the *Hikayat Nakhoda Muda* [3] (whose plot of Indian origin was used by Shakespeare for *All's Well that Ends Well*), the clever heroine Siti Sara sends her maid, Miss Pomegranate, to take two young men for several days thirty cakes, seven bowls of palm-sugar, and a ewer of water, with the message

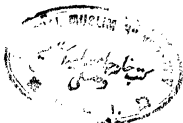
[1] *A History of Malaya*, R. O. Winstedt, pp. 16–17, 1935.

[2] The date, authorship, contents, and some MSS. of the Malay romance of Alexander the Great. R. O. Winstedt, *JRAS.*, Malayan Branch, vol. xvi, pt. 2 (1938), pp. 1–23.

[3] *Hikayat Nakhoda Muda.* R. O. Winstedt, *JRAS.*, Straits Branch, No. 83 (1921), pp. 104–9.

that the month has thirty days and the week seven and the tide is full and not ebbing. When one day the maid gives her lover four of the cakes, one bowl of sugar, and a drink of water, the young men return an answer, "The month lacked four days, the week one, and the tide ebbed before its time." Exactly the same episode occurs in a modern Greek tale.[1]

Is it perhaps possible that the literary device of iterated inquiry from a bystander as to the identity of warrior princes passing by has come to the Malay by way of Seleucia or Bactria from Homeric Greece? Almost certainly parallels are to be found in Indian literature. And the human mind is not so inventive that one can encounter identical *motifs* in art or literature or philosophy without looking round for some connection between them, however remote.

[1] Receuil de Contes Populaires Grecs. Tale IV. E. Legrand, Paris, 1881, and Clouston's *Flowers from a Persian Garden*, pp. 276–7, 2nd edition, London, 1894.

Symbols of Parentage in Archaic Chinese
Part II

By L. C. HOPKINS

MR. KUO MO-JO, in his essay to establish the original identity of the characters now written 祖 *tsu* and 社 *shê*, asserts that in early ages men held the male organ to be a manifestation of divine power. Sometimes, he says, they termed this power 祖 *tsu*, and sometimes 社 *shê*, as in the expression 馳 社 *ch'ih shê*, to hurry to the *shê*,[1] that is, to hurry forward bearing the phallic divinity on their shoulders. This custom still exists. A gentleman of Yang Chou 揚 州 (a city in Kiangsu Province) informed Kuo that at mid-Spring, in the second month of Spring, on the *shang ssŭ* Festival day (i.e. 6th of the Chinese moon), the Yang Chou practice was to make enormous paper models of the male and female emblems, one of each, and for a procession of men and women carrying these on their shoulders, to hurry along to burn them in front of the Shun Yang Temple. This is called 迎 春 *ying ch'un*, Welcoming the Spring.

In the above passage, as elsewhere, Mr. Kuo Mo-jo shows himself a bold inquirer and while his views are never to be neglected on topics with which he is familiar, they require to be scrutinized with attention and an acid drop of scepticism.

It is Mr. Kuo's thesis that four now dissimilar characters were originally expressed by one and the same graphic symbol. The corresponding four words or units of modern Chinese speech are *tsu*, ancestor, *t'u*, soil, *shih*, youngster, and *wang*, king. These are their modern senses, and their sounds in *kuan hua*, the official dialect. If a single pictogram served for these four words different in their several purports and probably in their contemporaneous sounds, how was the reader of that age to know which word he was to understand?

[1] Quoted, Kuo says, from Mo Tzŭ 墨 子 (4th and 5th century B.C.).

Again, the Honan relics show the archaic scription of 土 *t'u*, soil, to be , which Kuo says in shape is now that of 且 *tsu*, ancestor, itself a phallic emblem, 與且字形近 *yü tsu tzŭ hsing chin*. I cannot concur in this and discern a lack of verisimilitude.

An older view of , and one approved by a distinguished scholar, Wang Kuo-wei, was that it represented a clod set up on the surface of the earth, as a symbolic act, being perhaps part of the ceremonial of the 社 *shê*, or worship of the Earth Spirit. And here I would note that the character 地 *ti*, Earth, written with those two components, appears not to occur either on the old Bronzes or on the Honan bones. That seems a strange omission for so well known a word. The Lesser Seal form included in the *Shuo Wên* is *mutatis mutandis* the same as the modern, and an alleged *chou wên* scription with a blend of 阜 *fou*, 土 *t'u*, and 豕 *shih*(apparently), which is added, does not concern us. What does concern us is an unusual variant of 地 *ti*, written thus, 坔, in *K'anghsi*, where it is cited from the 集韻 *Chi Yün* Dictionary, but in a separate entry in the former work, and not among the five so-called *ku wên* forms added under 地 *ti*. Now in the inscriptions on the Honan relics there occur several examples of the character 土 *t'u*, with two and sometimes three dots round the top, thus, and , mostly followed by the old form of 方 *fang*. Such compounds have hitherto been considered as variants of *t'u*, and of course they may be. But seeing that elsewhere these dots are a well-known combining form of 水 *shui* water, the combination certainly answers to the *K'anghsi* character 坔, accepted as an older scription of 地 *ti*, earth.

If Kuo's explanation of the archaic character of 土 *t'u* is valid, I wonder how he explains these dots. Another

Chinese writer thought the form might represent the tongue, but I cannot now give the reference. The same solution had occurred to me as possible, though not very strongly. The character for tongue, 舌 *shê*, cannot be traced to an earlier date than the Lesser Seal of the *Shuo Wên*, where it appears as , and is explained as composed of 口 *k'ou*, mouth, and 干 *kan*, shield, which is hardly illuminating. But rather against the tongue explanation of is the absence of the character 口 *k'ou*, mouth, which we might reasonably expect to find. To pass to another point. Kuo asserts that the ancient sound of 土, by traditional usage pronounced *t'u*, was *shê* or, as he puts it, that "土 was the ancient character 社", 而土爲古社字 *erh t'u wei ku shê tzŭ*. But what was the ancient sound of this ambiguous word? Was it the (archaic) pronunciation of 土 *t'u*, or the (archaic) pronunciation of 社 *shê*? Or was there one single sound, from which the two later and very discrepant syllables *t'u* and *shê* have since diverged, unlikely as that appears? Our author appears to see no need to deal with this point.

We come next to the two characters now written 士 *shih*, youngster, as Kuo thinks it originally meant, or with Legge, an officer, a gentleman, or with Waley, a knight, and 王 *wang*, a king or prince. Mr. Kuo Mo-jo suggests an ingenious explanation of the one or more cross-bars in both the modern and medieval structure of these two characters as due to the growth of reticence, and a preference for periphrasis to the "fearless old fashion" of a less artificial and convention-ridden mode of life. And this new awareness would cause scribes to adopt corresponding disguises in their pictograms.

Other students may form more confident opinions than I as to the justice of Mr. Kuo Mo-jo's hypothesis regarding these two characters. For myself I hold an open mind, but am not yet convinced of its validity.

There remains to be noticed only the type shown in the

left-hand column of Plate II, the character 匕 *pi*, in its modern guise, but anciently [A], [B], [C], with other slight differences in its simple outline. The current explanation of its form (given on p. 353, *JRAS.*, June, 1940), does not, in view of the actual examples of 匕 *pi* (A, B, C) on the Honan Bones, appear to be supported by their evidence. The forms cited A, B, C do not recall the outline of a spoon or ladle, which should surely have had some such figure as [figure], and even the variant marked C, if that were appealed to is, as it happens, indistinguishable from the ancient form of 刀 *tao* a knife, not of 匕 *pi*, a spoon.

Those who accept Mr. Kuo Mo-jo's origin of the character 且 *tsu* (as I do), would presumably look for an analogous naturalistic prototype of 匕 *pi*, and it would be easy to devise one, but it would not conform to the type shown in Plate II, unless an earlier Y-shaped symbol could be accepted as a solution.

Two Notes on Ptolemy's Geography of India

By E. H. JOHNSTON.

I. Dounga

THE *Periplus Maris Erythræi* describes the seaports below Barygaza in the following way according to Schoff's translation: "The market-towns of this region are, in order, after Barygaza: Suppara, and the city of Calliena, which in the time of the elder Saraganus [1] became a lawful market-town; but since it came into the possession of Sandares [an unjustified conjecture for the text's Sandanes] the port is much obstructed, and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard. Beyond Calliena there are other market-towns of this region; Semylla. . . ." Suppara is now Sopara on the coast above Bassein, Semylla is Cemūla of two inscriptions, now Chaul, and Calliena is Kalyāṇa. This last, situated at the foot of the two regular ascents of the Western Ghats leading towards Nasik and Poona respectively and with good access to the sea, was the natural outlet for the commerce of the Andhra dominions on the west coast, and the notice, just quoted, shows how its trade was stifled, as the Kṣaharātas extended their rule southwards from Broach. It is unnecessary here to consider who are the kings alluded to in this passage or in the earlier one mentioning Nambanus (a conjecture for the text's Mambarus), but clearly we are dealing with the rivalry of the Western Satraps and the Andhra kings. That the former were successful in their policy towards Kalyāṇa is shown by Ptolemy's omission of the town. The order he gives (taking Renou's text) is Souppara, mouth of the River Goaris, Dounga, mouth of the River Bêndas, Semyla. Dounga has taken the place of Kalyāṇa, but was evidently less suited to the handling of commerce,

[1] For this name see J. Bloch in *Mélanges Sylvain Lévi*, 6–7, though I confess to finding his solution more difficult than that of Boyer which he rejects.

because Cosmas Indicopleustes in the sixth century refers to Kalyāṇa four times as one of the great marts. The mention by Ptolemy of the River Goaris between Souppara and Dounga, and of the River Bêndas between Dounga and Semyla, makes it certain that the town must have been somewhere on the island of Salsette; and the two rivers can only be the modern Ulhās and Ambā. Scrutiny of the 1-in. Survey Map of the island shows that, if the name of Dounga has survived to modern times, the only possibility is Dongri exactly opposite Bassein at the north end of the island. This has its difficulties; for from the latitudes and longitudes given by Ptolemy the site should be further down the island, but probably his statements should not be taken too strictly, as he had figures for a few places only and calculated the remainder on information which would produce merely approximate results. Another point is more important. The Survey map does not indicate the exact spelling, but presumably Dongri is connected with Marathi *doṁgar*, "a hill," and, as appears later, Ptolemy's *d* in Dounga stands for an Indian *dh*. The *ḍ* here may represent an original *d*, since Bloch holds that *ḍoṁgar* is connected with *duṁg*[1] and he cites similar cases, but the aspirate has still to be accounted for. In one respect Dongri fits the conditions, because the map lets us deduce that, though suitable as a terminus for traffic down the passes of the Ghats, it was unlikely to have been permanently satisfactory as a port.

Whether the identification is acceptable or not, the important point is that Dounga for a certain period took the place of Kalyāṇa. And a parallel phenomenon is to be observed in the local inscriptions, that is, the appearance of a town called Dhenukākaṭa or Dhenukākaṭaka as the home of donors to cave temples. At Kārle on the road up the Ghats from Kalyāṇa to Poona thirteen of the seventeen inscribed pillars were given by inhabitants of Dhenukākaṭa, of which six were given by Yavanas, one of the latter giving two; the *ghara-mugha* was also presented by a *gandhika*, and constructed by

[1] *La formation de la langue marathe*, 127.

a carpenter (*vardhakin*), of the same town.[1] Of the remaining donors of pillars one belongs to Sopāraka (two inscriptions) and two to unidentified towns, and one has no residence specified. The date of the cave[2] is more or less settled by the inscriptions as not far removed from the time of Usabhadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna and donor of a village to support the cave; one pillar moreover was given by a son of Usabhadāta, who is probably the same individual. The palæography of this last inscription is compatible with the existence of a gap between it and Usabhadāta's inscription, corresponding to the difference of generations and to the time it would take to excavate from the entrance to the pillar. It is significant that there are no inscriptions from inhabitants of Kalyāṇa, and it seems that the Kṣaharātas had stopped its trade and that Dhenukākaṭa had risen to such wealth in its place that its inhabitants could be mainly responsible for the excavation of a cave remarkable for its size and magnificent decoration. The number of the Yavanas suggests that they were Greeks, perhaps of mixed blood, engaged in the trade between India and the Roman Empire; the elaboration of the columns suggests that they were doing well out of it. Further that a *gandhika* could have paid for the famous portal is noteworthy; he must have been a dealer on a large scale in the perfumes which formed one of the chief items in the same commerce. As Greek merchants appear to have been confined in their operations to the seaports and to have taken no part in the inland trade,[3] Dhenukākaṭa must surely have been a seaport. It occurs again in an inscription in the cave of Śailārwāḍi beyond Kārle and probably of the same date, but when we turn to Kāṇherī on the island of Salsette, we find one mention only of an inhabitant of Dhenukākaṭa, namely in the small cave, lxxvi, No. 1020 of Lüders' list, and

[1] For the inscriptions see Lüders' list, and *Ep. Ind.*, xviii, 325 ff., and xxiv, 282.

[2] Cf. J. Marshall in *CHI.*, i, 636–7.

[3] Cf. for instance, Warmington, *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (1928), 260.

belonging probably to about the time when the Andhras had finally reconquered the Konkan under Yajña Śrī. But it is not easy to draw the correct inferences from the eight references to inhabitants of Kalyāṇa in the latter caves. As I understand the evidence, three of them, Nos. 1001, 1013, and 1032 of Lüders' list, date from before the invasion of the Western Satraps, and three more, Nos. 998, 1000, and 1024, belong to the time when the Konkan had passed for ever out of their hands; of the remaining two, Nos. 986 and 1014, one belongs to the interval between the two periods of Śaka rule, and the other may. To the only other inscriptions which mention inhabitants of Kalyāṇa, Nos. 1177 and 1179 of Junnar, I cannot assign an exact date on the facts available. I conclude that the prosperity of Dhenukākaṭa, which does not appear in any other inscriptions, is limited to the period when it was in Śaka hands, and that at all other times under Andhra rule Kalyāṇa was the centre of trade in this area.

Thus the parallel between the history of Dounga in the Greek sources and of Dhenukākaṭa in the inscriptions is exact, and it is natural to equate Dounga and Dhenukā, which presents little difficulty. Sanskrit intervocalic *k* is rendered by *g* in Ptolemy and the aspirated *dh* by *d*, so that the consonants correspond. For the vowels I see two possible explanations. *Dhenu* may have been pronounced *dheũ* locally, as is also done in modern Indian languages,[1] or Ptolemy's text may be slightly corrupted. Thus an original Donuga might have been read as Dounga, and the ν taken as a slip of the pen for γ. The first seems preferable, but the second is quite possible palæographically. Further, *kaṭa* or *kaṭaka*, "slope of a hill," would suit the equation with Dongri, as the map shows the village at the foot of the slope of a hill.

This inquiry throws some light on the reactions which the sudden expansion of the maritime trade with the West in the first century A.D. caused in India and on the manner in which

[1] e.g. in Tirhut according to Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, § 1114.

the various problems of chronology are interdependent. From the *Periplus* it is evident that Kalyāṇa was developed by the Andhras to enable them to take their share in the lucrative traffic. Their efforts were sufficiently successful to excite the jealousy of the Śaka rulers at Barygaza; probably the difficulties of the approach to the latter port, which the *Periplus* emphasizes, led to merchants favouring Kalyāṇa. It is not clear from the evidence why the Śakas should not have continued to use Kalyāṇa, once they had acquired possession of it. Possibly they felt that their hold on it was insecure, while Salsette was more easily defended, and so long as they held that island they could control the trade. There were no really suitable ports to the south, and the natural outlet from the Deccan was by the island. Ptolemy, however, shows that Dhenukākaṭa was not an emporium; probably it was used as a feeder port for Barygaza, and the Yavanas were engaged, not in the direct trade with Alexandria, but with coasting trade to Barygaza, thus securing for it the commercial products from the Deccan, which otherwise would never have gone there but have been shipped direct to the west. Further the great cave at Kārle was constructed when Dhenukākaṭa was flourishing, and must be later in date than the *Periplus*. Schoff dated the latter to about A.D. 60, but his views were rejected by later German scholars, whose arguments for the reign of Domitian led Rostovtzeff in his *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, pp. 91 and 93, to treat their conclusions as certain. Now the middle of the first century A.D. is again in favour.[1] The date evidently depends on the determination of the period when the western Satraps were moving into the Konkan, and that again is affected by the vexed question of Kushan chronology. It seems that, if we take the earlier date for the *Periplus*, then we must accept the earlier dating for Kaniṣka, whereas the

[1] See Schoff's introduction to his translation, and for the literature of the two later stages, Warmington, op. cit., 343, n. 51, and Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, 148, n. 4.

ater dating accords with Professor Konow's well-known iews and involves postponing the excavation of Kārle to he second century A.D., which has not yet been proposed by ny authority on Indian archæology.

The two Greek works also allow us to infer how the Andhra ings dealt with the situation created by the aggression of ne Satraps. The *Periplus* records Cemūla as an ordinary ort, but to Ptolemy it is an emporium, a change which can nly be explained if the Andhras had made it the centre for ne export trade of their kingdom in place of Kalyāṇa. It ad not equally good communications with the Deccan, so ong as Kalyāṇa was in hostile hands, and it may not have ecome prosperous till a later period, as the only inscriptions ecorded in the caves by its inhabitants, those at Kāṇherī f the sons of Rohanimita, a goldsmith, Lüders' Nos. 996 and 033, belong to an earlier date.

II. An Indian Source.

Inquiry into the interactions between the Greek and ndian cultures during the several centuries they were in ose political or commercial contact is impeded by the ifficulty of identifying the texts that might have been used y either side, so that Ptolemy's apparent use of an Indian ource in drawing up the seventh book of his geography equires full consideration. While the parallel between his st of the mountains of India and a verse occurring in the *Iahābhārata* and many Purāṇas was observed long ago, ne matter was not followed up, because the texts had not een critically examined; recent research has opened out ew possibilities.

Ptolemy begins his description of India with an account the coastline, evidently based on information from Greek raders with the east. But for the interior he does not make se, as might have been expected, of the Alexander and later reek historians, but adopts a hig'ly individual arrar ment

of his own, which must depend on some other authority. He starts with the seven internal mountain ranges, which can be identified, not only by their names, but also by the latitudes and longitudes he assigns to them, despite his faulty conception of the shape of the country. Next he describes the river system, beginning with the rivers that issue from the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas, and proceeding with those that rise in five of his seven ranges. For the latter he is only concerned to note the origin of those rivers whose mouths are recorded in his account of the coastline, and so he omits the two ranges, from which none of the rivers he mentioned descended to the sea. Finally he enumerates the various districts of India with their principal towns, travelling from the north to the east, then to the west, and ending up with the south. For comparison we have firstly the geographical passage in *Mahābhārata*, vi, 309–384, which was taken over by the *Padmapurāṇa*,[1] and secondly a series of closely related texts in the other Purāṇas. The former, as it stands in the vulgate, is late and somewhat muddled, giving bare lists of mountains, rivers, and peoples, without that linking up of the first two which distinguishes Ptolemy's geography. When the critical edition of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* appears, improvements in the text are hardly likely to bring it into correlation with Ptolemy, and I need not discuss it further. The various geographical passages in the Purāṇas have been analysed with great care by Kirfel,[2] who finds that they are all based on two recensions, one shorter and one longer, of the same text. Both recensions appear in the *Brahmapurāṇa*, which contains a good deal of old matter, but partly owing to the bad tradition of the Purāṇa texts they can only be reconstituted subject to considerable variations of reading and some interpolation. The shorter recension,

[1] See for this S. K. Belvalkar in *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies* (F. W. Thomas Volume), 19 ff.

[2] *Bhāratavarṣa*, Heft vi, Beiträge zur indischen Sprachwissenschaft u. Religionsgeschichte, Stuttgart, 1931.

which Kirfel gives good reason for holding to be the older, contains after the introduction the verse already mentioned which details the seven chief mountain ranges, the *kulaparvatas*, and follows this up with an account of the river system as connected with the mountains, starting with the Himalayas and continuing with the seven ranges; only two rivers are given for each with a word for "etc." A few verses, added in some versions, about the peoples of India evidently found no place in the original, which had two verses, stating the names of the boundary peoples; the allusion in these latter to the Yavanas as forming the western boundary folk is suggestive of the text's antiquity. The second recension is based on the same arrangement, but with much greater detail, cataloguing a number of individual mountains and giving all the important rivers that flow from each range, and it concludes with a list of the Indian peoples, taking the Madhyadeśa, and then the northern, eastern, southern, and western quarters in order. The parallelism in arrangement with Ptolemy of the two texts, as regards the mountains and river systems, is remarkable, and makes a detailed comparison advisable. I know of no list in Sanskrit of ancient cities, and it is not possible to trace any relation between this part of Ptolemy's description and the Puranic catalogue of peoples, which seems to be later than his time.

In both recensions the verse giving the seven mountain ranges runs :—

Mahendro Malayaḥ Sahyaḥ Śuktimān Ṛkṣaparvataḥ |
Vindhyaś ca Pāriyātraś ca saptātra kulaparvatāḥ ||

The corresponding verse in the epic, *MBh.*, vi, 318, substitutes *Gandhamādanaḥ* in the Calcutta edition, and *Ṛkṣavān api* in the Bombay text, for *Ṛkṣaparvataḥ*, and the epic knows the name of this range only in the form Ṛkṣavat, a point to which I recur below. I take each of these names in turn with their respective rivers, following Ptolemy's order.

(1) Apokopa, or Poinai Theôn. The position assigned to it shows clearly that the Pāriyātra range is meant. Apokopa

is a purely Greek name, meaning a "cleft" or "steep hill", and when Ptolemy inserts a Greek name it is the translation of the Indian name, as is exemplified in the two cases below of Sardonyx and Pseudostomos. Here Ptolemy has two alternative Greek names, and the Sanskrit corresponds by having two forms, between which no one has ever been able to decide, namely Pāriyātra and Pāripātra. It appears that both forms were already current in the second century A.D., and that they were explained etymologically by some Indian informant to the Greeks as derived from *yātaya*, "torture," "punish," and probably from *pāṭaya*, "cleave," respectively. The second necessitates the substitution of a cerebral for a dental, but Indian etymologists did perform some wonderful acrobatics to reduce all words to verbal roots, or just possibly there was a Prakrit form with a cerebral, though, as the only known contemporary form is *Pārivāta* from an inscription at Nasik,[1] I am not disposed to accept this solution. Ptolemy gives no river as rising in it and does not mention the source of the Mahī, which he treats as a confluent of the Narmadā and which is the only one known to him of the rivers classified under this range in the longer recension. The shorter text names only the Vedasmṛti, which has not been satisfactorily identified.

(2) Mount Sardonyx. Ball's identification of this mountain with the hills containing famous agate mines between Ratanpur and Rajpipla appears to have been generally accepted, but is inconsistent with the data of the texts. Ptolemy places it south of the Narmadā, over whose direction he has gone astray, but also he puts its centre close to and N.E. of Ujjain, and that this is the correct indication for ascertaining its position is shown by the *Periplus*' reference to the fact that agate and carnelian were brought to Barygaza from Ujjain. It may be taken that by this range Ptolemy meant the hills

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, viii, 60. Senart reads *Pāricāta*, which appears to be the reading intended by the inscriber, but it is fairly certain that *Pārivāta* should have been written.

north of Jabalpur stretching up to Bundelkhand, from which agates are obtained.[1] The only one of the seven ranges of the Purāṇas with which it can be equated is Śuktimat, whose position has not been definitely determined. Nundolal Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* describes it as the range joining the Pāriyātra and Ṛkṣa chains, giving it, however, an impossible extension into Gondwana. The *Mahābhārata*, according to the context of its mention at ii, 1079, evidently contemplates its being nearer the Ganges, so that it may include the hills of Bundelkhand and the Kaimur hills. The correctness of this indication is confirmed by the recurrence of the name in Śuktimatī (Sotthivatī in Pali), the capital of the Cedi country, which corresponds more or less to Bundelkhand, and in the river with the same appellation, now the Ken. Corroboration from the river system is unobtainable, because Ptolemy knows of none rising in it and the Puranic list is textually confused and has no river which can be safely identified. Obviously it remains to determine what *śukti* signifies in Śuktimat. The ordinary sense "oyster shell", "mother of pearl", is inapplicable and I would suggest that it means "agate" or "chalcedony". It is quite uncertain what were the ancient Indian terms for the various semi-precious stones of this class, and the suitability of this sense for *śukti* is illuminated by a passage of Pliny,[2] "By sardonyx, as the name itself implies, was formerly meant a *sarda* with a whiteness in it, like the flesh under the human finger-nail, the white part being transparent like the rest of the stone." The correspondence between Sardonyx and Śuktimat seems to me complete, and its situation free from doubt, but it is perhaps worth noting that the Sanskrit name had a limited currency, being known only to the epic and the Purāṇas.

(3) Ouindion. The equation with Vindhya is certain, but we are not entitled to assume that Ptolemy indicates the

[1] Warmington, op. cit., 240.
[2] McCrindle, *Ancient India* (1901), 130.

Sanskrit form. His names, wherever identifiable, betray their Prakritic origin, and as in his geography *ti* stands for *c* in Tiastanes and *di* for *j* in Diamouna, *di* here should represent *jh*, aspirated letters being incapable of distinction from unaspirated in Greek transliteration. The form he knew therefore is Viñjha, corresponding to Vijha (for Viṁjha) in the Nasik inscription already quoted. According to him the rivers rising in the range are the Namadês and the Nanagounas, coinciding with the shorter Puranic text's Narmadā and Surasā. The Nanagounas or Surasā is clearly the Tapti, about the location of whose mouth Ptolemy was strangely misinformed. He adds under the account of the Ganges the Sô, which is included in the list of the longer text.

(4) Bittigo (v.l. Bêttigo). Ptolemy's indications show that the Malaya range is meant, and McCrindle, following Caldwell, explains the Greek name as derived from the Tamil name of one of the chief peaks.[1] Ptolemy specifies the three rivers flowing from it as the Pseudostomos, now the Periyar, whose lower course is still known by a similar name, the Baris, now the Pāli or Pālai, and the Sôlên, which can only be the Tāmraparṇī.[2] Unavailing attempts have been made to find an Indian name which could have been transcribed by the last of these, but presumably it is the Greek word meaning "pipe", "groove", "channel", and translates a local name for the Tāmraparṇī or the lower part of its course. Of the Sanskrit texts the shorter one names the Kṛtamālā and the Tāmraparṇī; the former has been identified with the Vaigai,[3] a river unknown to Ptolemy. The longer text adds the Puṣpajāti and Utpalāvati, for which the readings and identifications are too uncertain for discussion to be profitable. There may be evidence in the Tamil classical

[1] *Ancient India by Ptolemy*, 78.

[2] For the local information, which make the first two of these identifications certain, see Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils eighteen hundred years ago*, 19.

[3] Kirfel, op. cit., 27, n. 28. An alternative name is Ketumālā, ibid., 24, Zusatz 1, verse 2.

poetry which would be relevant, but, if so, it is not known to me.

(5) Adisathron. As Ptolemy makes the Kāverī rise in it, the range meant must be that known as the Sahya, despite the impossible position allocated to it. Of the Sanskrit texts only the longer one mentions it among the rivers. The original form of the name in Greek is not certain (v.l. Adissa°, Adeisa°), and some of the Latin MSS. have Adrisatus or Adisatrus. But, whatever it was, it clearly represents the Sanskrit Adri Sahya, inverted from the more usual Sahyādri. The Prakritic form known to Ptolemy's source should have been Sahya also according to the Nasik inscription quoted twice above, and *hya* would offer such difficulties of transliteration to a Greek that a guess at the correct reading of Ptolemy's text is idle.

(6) Ouxenton. The identification with the Ṛkṣa range is standard now and acceptable. Comparison of rivers is impossible, because those named by Ptolemy, the Tundis, Dôsarôn, and Adamas, cannot be definitely identified, while the Sanskrit texts are in hopeless disorder at this point. The form Ouxenton is of interest. As pointed out above, the epic has the name in the form Ṛkṣavat, and the original reading of the verse about the seven ranges may well have been *Ṛkṣavān api*, not *Ṛkṣaparvataḥ*. Ptolemy's form clearly comes from a Prakrit derivative of this, with the usual Prakrit ending of *-vanta*, probably Ucchavanta rather than Ukṣavanta; but *uccha* from Sk. *ṛkṣa* appears not to have been authenticated so far, and the reading *Vijhachavata°* of the Nasik inscription referred to above implies Acchavanta, which is what would be expected. Unless the inscription was wrongly incised and should have read Vijhochavata°, the vowel in Ptolemy remains hard to explain. The variant also of the Calcutta edition of the Mahābhārata, *Gandhamādanaḥ*, is noteworthy as possibly preserving an old name. As I tried to show once,[1] the original site of Vaiśvaṁtara's hermitage in the famous Jātaka was

[1] *JRAS.*, 1939, 232 ff.

somewhere behind Gaya in the hills included in epic times in the Ṛkṣa range, but later tradition placed it in the fabulous Gandhamādana forest. If Gandhamādana had once been a name for the whole or part of the Ṛkṣa range, the shift of the story's scene becomes comprehensible as a confusion between two places of the same name, the better known, though mythical, ultimately obtaining the preference.

(7) Arouaia. The exact reading is uncertain, the number of variants being large, in Greek Arouraia, Oroudia, Aroura, Ouroudia, Arouedôn, and in Latin Orundus, Arudii, Orudum, Orudii. These suggest that there should be a consonant after *-ou*, probably *d*, or, if not, *r*. The range indicated is the Mahendra, though Ptolemy's mistaken conception of the shape of peninsular India has led him to attribute the wrong rivers to it, namely the Tunnas (the Pennar ?), the Maisôlos (the Kistna), and the Manda (which must be the Mahânadī, if Kannagara is Kanarak). Mahendra covers a considerable complex of hills besides those in Ganjam, and the Mahānadī might be said to rise in it, but not the other two, which properly belong to the Sahyādri. The shorter Puranic text names the Trisāmā and the Ṛṣikulyā. The latter may have been rightly identified with the Rasikulia in Ganjam; the former is unknown, but the possibility of its being the Mahānadī, otherwise not mentioned, is not excluded. The equation with Mahendra, however, takes us no nearer solving the form or origin of Ptolemy's name.

About the rivers flowing from the Hindu Kush and Himalayas, not much need be said. The shorter Sanskrit version names two only, and the longer one here divides into two recensions with numerous rivers, which include all those referred to by Ptolemy except the Swat. It is noteworthy that for the Kabul and Chenab Ptolemy uses the later Puranic forms, not the Vedic names known to the earlier Greek writers, and that for the other four Panjab rivers his forms render the Indian names more correctly, as shown by the following table :—

Purāṇas.	*Ptolemy.*	*Early Greek Names.*
Kuhū	Kôas	Kôphên, Kôphês
Śatadru	Zadadros	Hesydrus
Vitastā	Bidaspes (? for Bidastes)	Hydaspes
Vipāśā	Bibasis	Hyphasis
Irāvatī, or Airāvatī	Arouadis (many v.l.)	Hydraotes
Candrabhāgā	Sandabal (for Sandabaga)	Akesinês

For the Gangetic system Ptolemy's sources were defective, or else he did not know where to place the various tributaries named by earlier authors; he gives only the Diamouna (Yamunā), Sarabos (Sarabhū, later Sarayu, now Sarjū), and Sô (Śoṇa).

The position may now be summed up, taking into account our knowledge of the method in which Ptolemy treated his authorities. He did not copy his sources verbatim, but treated them with discrimination, that is to say in as critical a manner as his limited knowledge allowed [1]; that his results were often mistaken is due to the lack of a framework of places whose positions had been accurately determined by astronomical observations. For the coast-line of India he evidently relied on information derived, directly or mediately, from Greek traders, and which, as shown by the previous note and by his account of Ceylon, was up to date. But this was not in general available for the interior of India, and he did not exploit the works of previous Greek historians, as may be inferred from the differences of his nomenclature and from his ignorance of the Gangetic river system. One of his sources was a list of towns which cannot now be traced; this may have been obtained from Greek informants, as it is particularly detailed for the Kushan dominions, the one part of India familiar to Greeks. The other source dealt with the mountains and rivers of India. His account of the former squares entirely with the earliest Sanskrit geographical tract known to us; the division of the hills of India into seven

[1] For an instance, his handling of Marinus, see the latest discussion in A. Herrmann, *Das Land der Seide u. Tibet*, Leipzig, 1939.

groups is hardly an arrangement which would have occurred independently to a Greek traveller or merchant. By itself this fact would not be conclusive, as the verse in question was clearly well known, but he further arranges his rivers in dependence on the mountains in exactly the same way as that tract does; if there is not the same correspondence between the rivers as between the mountains, it is because his chief concern is with those rivers whose mouths have been mentioned by him on the coast-line. Of the big tributary rivers he names in all seven for the Indus and three for the Ganges. The conclusion seems inescapable that at the base of his account there lies the shorter of the two Puranic texts, perhaps in a more correct and antique recension than any we have. Necessarily he would only have known it in a Greek translation or in a Greek account which incorporated it, and the translator must have used Prakrit forms of the names, apparently following local pronunciation, to judge from the varying transliterations, especially of the letter *v*, e.g. Ouindion, but Bibasis and Bidaspes. This usage is incidentally not an argument against Greek knowledge of the Sanskrit text, because there is evidence that in India then, as now, many Sanskrit words and proper names were reduced to Prakritic forms in speech.[1] Ptolemy did not take over the whole of the work, but only so much as was requisite for his object, but it is a fact of some significance that an identifiable Sanskrit text should have been available in some form or other at Alexandria.

[1] See my translation of the *Buddhacarita* (Panjab Univ. Or. Publications, 32), pp. xc–xci.

Notes on the Silver Punch-marked Coins, and the Copper Punch-marked Coins, in the British Museum

By E. H. C. WALSH

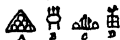
IN a previous paper [1] notes have been given on some points in connection with the Silver Punch-marked Coins of the Older Thin Class in the British Museum. Here further notes are given on the Silver Punch-marked Coins of the Later Thick Class of the Mauryan Period, on the Copper Punch-marked Coins, and on the Tribal Coins: for convenience of reference the paragraphs are numbered in continuation of those of the previous notes.

The Later Coins on which the Sun and Six-armed Symbol do not Occur

44. Many of the Marks which occur on the Older Class of coins are continued on the Later coins, but they also bear a number of Marks which do not occur on the Older coins, and which distinguish them. The Sun and the Six-armed Symbol of all the Older coins also occur on most of the Later coins. There are, however, some coins on which those Marks do not occur. These are coins Nos. 50 to 80 on pp. 21–4; Nos. 14 to 33 on pp. 26, 27; and No. 26 on page 47; a total of 52 coins. These coins, therefore, constitute a separate class by themselves. It is reasonable to conclude that these coins on which those former Marks have been discontinued are later than the coins which bear those Marks.

These coins include several varieties with different groups of Marks, and it is difficult to suggest which of the Marks on them have taken the place of those two former Marks. In the case of certain coins, however, this can be done.

[1] Notes on the Silver Punch-marked Coins in the British Museum [Paras. 1 to 17], *JRAS.*, 1937, pp. 613–624; and [Paras. 18 to 43], *JRAS.*, 1938, pp. 21–35.

Coin No. 26, p. 47 (Class 2, Group VII, var. *f*) bears the following four Marks :—

A B C D and the Dog-Mark. Coins 27–41, var. *g*, bear the Sun, the Six-armed Symbol, and Marks C, and the Three-Arches, and the Dog-Mark. Marks A, B, and D do not occur on coins which bear the Sun and the Six-armed Symbol; two of them, therefore, appear to have taken the place of those two Marks on coin No. 26. The Marks A and B occur together on five other coins (Nos. 50, 51, p. 21; No. 17, p. 26; and Nos. 27, 28, p. 27). On the three last of these Mark D also occurs, but not on the two first, on which its place is taken by the Bull-with-Taurine. It is, therefore, not a constant Mark on those coins, and the two constant Marks which have taken the place of the Sun and the Six-armed Symbol are Marks A and B; and they would therefore also appear to have taken the place of those Marks on other coins on which they may appear.

Three of the six coins mentioned above and also twenty-five other coins of the fifty-two coins which do not bear the Sun and the Six-armed Symbol bear the Taxila-Mark on the reverse.

We have no material from which to conjecture the significance of the universal Marks of the Sun and the Six-armed Symbol. The only object, apart from the coins, on which the Six-armed Symbol has been found is a small square-shaped piece of glass or other vitreous material about the same size as a small square punch-marked coin, on one side of which this Mark is very clearly moulded, exactly similar to the Mark on the Golukhpur coins.[1]

This was discovered among the numerous fragments of antiquities found in the earth filling the space between the two wooden palisades which formed the walls of the city

[1] *JBORS.*, 1919, p. 33.

of Pataliputra, mentioned by Megasthenes. Sir John Marshall was of opinion that this filling may have been made in part from older rubbish heaps, which would place the object, probably a seal, at an earlier date than Chandra Gupta.

45. That the Sun and the Six-armed Symbol were not of the nature of "Hall-marks" guaranteeing the silver standard of the coins is shown by the occurrence of these Marks on the copper punch-marked coins, and the Six-armed Symbol on the copper Tribal coins of Eran and Ujjain.

The Continuation of Coinages of the Older Class

46. Mr. Allan notes (p. lxxii): "The association in finds of Class 2 with significant reverse symbols with Class 6 with numerous small punches like shroff-marks and no definite symbol is another puzzle. The latter may be the earlier issues struck before the adoption of a regular reverse mint-mark." That the Older Pre-Mauryan coins (Class 6) are found in the same hoards with coins of the Mauryan period (Class 2) would be accounted for by the long continued circulation of the punch-marked coins, so that the Older coins still remained in circulation during the Mauryan period. That they did so is shown by the fact that Older coins were subsequently restamped on the reverses with the Mauryan Mark of the Hill-with-Crescent, apparently to authorize their continued circulation. This has been referred to previously in paragraph 6 in which the various classes of the British Museum coins which have been thus restamped are noted. This system of restamping previous coins with the Mark of a subsequent ruler also occurs, as Mr. Allan notes (p. lxxii), in the coins of Nahapāna which were so restamped with the personal Mark of Gautamīputra.

Also the hoards were of the nature of a family Bank and the deposits probably extended over a long period. The accumulated coins would not be taken out in the order in

which they were put in, and this would also account for the Older and the Later coins being found together.

47. Apart, however, from the subsequent restamping of previous coins of various coinages bearing different groups of Marks there are two instances of a previous coinage being continued in the Mauryan period. These are (1) the Class of coins which bear a distinctive Mark of a Dog (or other animal) with a smaller animal in its mouth. (This Mark has been previously referred to in paragraph 22); and (2) the Class of coins which bear a distinctive Mark of a Hill with a Semicircle round it, surmounted by the "Hour-glass" Mark (a *damaru* or hand-drum), and a rectangular enclosure below it, containing two aquatic objects resembling "beetles" rather than fish, which, therefore, appears to represent a Tank. This Mark has been previously referred to in paragraph 33.

The continuation of these two classes in the Later Mauryan coinage would show that in each case those coins of the Older Class were in current circulation at the beginning of the Mauryan period.

THE COINS BEARING THE MARK OF A DOG WITH SMALL ANIMAL IN ITS MOUTH

48. The coins in the British Museum which bear the Mark of a Dog-with-small-Animal-in-its-mouth, (Class 2, Group VII, vars. *a–l*, pp. 45–51, and xxvii, xlv, and lxiii), and Group VIII, vars. *a* and *b* (p. 52), are of the Later Thick coinage and bear distinctive Mauryan marks. One coin (No. 46, p. 47) does not bear the Sun and the Six-armed Symbol, and, as already noted, would appear to be later than the coins which bear those Marks. This would show that this coinage continued for some time.

There are, however, twenty-one coins (Class B, e) among the Bhiṛ Mound Pre-Mauryan coins which bear this as their distinctive Mark and are of the earlier coinage which was continued.

THE COINS BEARING THE MARK OF A HILL WITH A TANK-WITH-" BEETLES " BELOW IT

49. The eight coins of the British Museum which bear the Mark of the " Beetle "-Tank-Hill (Class 2, Group VIII, vars. *c*, *d*, *e*, pp. 52, 53, and p. xxxiii), although they are included in Class 2, are all of them of the Older Class (Class 6). Two of them (coins Nos. 4 and 7) have been subsequently restamped on the Reverse with the Hill-with-Crescent.

Five of the coins are illustrated on Pl. II, 12, 20, and Pl. XLII, 22, 23, 24. They all bear the Six-armed Symbol in the older form (No. 6, p. xxiii) with the Taurine in an Oval and not in form No. 1 with the plain Taurine, which is the form of that Mark on the Later coins. Coin No. 3 has nine old reverse-marks ; No. 4 has four old worn reverse-marks, and the clear subsequently stamped Mark of the Hill-with-Crescent ; No. 7 has a blank reverse on which the Hill-with-Crescent and another Mauryan Mark has been subsequently stamped ; No. 8 has six old worn reverse-marks ; and No. 9 has four. On coin No. 8 it is noted on the reverse " uncertain stamps including three figures, perhaps ". As previously noted in paragraph 33, however, the Mark referred to is not the Three-Figure Mark, but (Pl. XLII, 23), consists of Taurines, The Three-Figure Mark is a Mauryan Obverse Mark which, also, does not occur as a Reverse-Mark, and would not appear on these earlier coins.

There are 147 coins of this class (Class D), which bear the Beetle-Tank-Hill as their distinctive Mark, among the Pre-Mauryan Bhiṛ-Mound coins. Of these, thirty-eight coins (Class D, 3) are the same as the British Museum variety *c* ; eighty-nine (Class D, 2) are the same as variety *d* ; and seventeen (Class D, 1) are the same as variety *e*.

The Later coinage of this class is a hoard of sixty-one Silver Punch-marked coins found at Peshawar in 1906 and described by Dr. D. S. Spooner (A.S.I.R., 1905–6, pp. 150–164) which contain this Mark, though not then identified

by Dr. Spooner, who considered all the Marks to be symbols of the Buddhist religion, and described it, together with the Hill-with-Crescent Mark, which also occurs on those coins, as a "chaitya".

There are also examples both of this Older and Later coinage among the Machhuatoli coins,[1] of which Serials Nos. 14 and 15 are of the Older Class and No. 16 of the Later Mauryan coinage.

PUNCH-MARKED COPPER COINS

50. There are 217 Punch-marked copper coins in the British Museum. As is shown by the Mark of the Hill-with-Crescent on them they are all of the Mauryan Period. They are all of one type though they vary considerably in weight. Three are from Cunningham's collection and have been illustrated by him (C.A.I., Pl. I, 20, 21, 22). The remainder are all of a single hoard of unknown provenance, thought to be in the southern part of the United Provinces, which were acquired by the Museum in 1911. They are described on pp. lxxviii–ix, catalogued on pp. 101–116, and illustrated on Plates XII and XIII. They all bear the same group of five Marks on the Obverse and of four Marks on the Reverse. Mr. Allan describes them as follows: "The method of manufacture is apparent. The flans were chopped out of long bars of copper and then punched with symbols, five on one side and four on the other. These symbols are, on the obverse (as we may call the side with five symbols on the analogy of the punch-marked silver):—

The obverse resembles the punch-marked silver of Class I and many groups of Class II in that three of the symbols

[1] *JBORS.*, 1939, pp. 91–117 (pp. 115 and 116).

are sun, six-armed symbol, and mountain, although in no case are the symbols exactly the same. The fourth symbol resembles [symbol] which is only found on the reverse of the silver coins. The fifth symbol is not found elsewhere. The reverse differs from all other punch-marked coins in having four distinct symbols impressed upon it: one of these is a lotus, recalling a symbol found on coins of Eran, the second is a conch-shell, the third is the somewhat elaborate svastika. The fourth is probably a variant of the common 'mountain' symbol *but is not found elsewhere in this form.*"

51. From the coins, however, it is clear that the Mark on the reverse which Mr. Allan considers to be a lotus is the same mark as the Sun on the obverse of the coins. Twenty of the coins are illustrated on Plates XII and XIII. The references to the plates are given in the Catalogue. The reference to Plate XII, 10, against coin 11 on page 102 is a mistake; that coin is a small round cast-coin. It is apparently intended for Plate XIII, 10, to which there is no separate reference. There is no reference to Plate XIII, 14. The Obverse and Reverse of Figures 5, 6, 9, and 11 on Plate XIII are transferred on the Plate.

The only difference between the Sun-Mark on the Obverse and the "lotus", as shown on the Reverse, is that the rays of the Sun on the silver coins and on *some* but not all of the present copper coins are straight, whereas those in the "lotus"-like form are rounded and thus resemble petals. That this is a variety of the Sun-Mark and is not intended to represent a separate Mark is shown by the following facts. On four of the coins illustrated, viz. Plate XII, Figs. 15 and 16–17 (Reverse), and Plate XIII, Figs. 1 and 5, the Sun on the Obverse has the petal-shaped rays, while the Mark on *the Reverse has straight rays*, as the Sun-Mark usually has. On five of the coins, viz. Plate XII, Fig. 11, and Plate XIII, Figs. 7, 8, 12, and 13, the Mark has straight rays on both the Obverse and the Reverse. On the remaining eleven coins illustrated, viz.

Plate XII, Figs. 12, 13, and 14, and Plate XIII, Figs. 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, and 14, the Mark has its rays in rounded petal-like form on both the Obverse and Reverse.

On the coin, Plate XIII, Fig. 14, the Mark on the Obverse and the Reverse are from the same punch, though the Mark is clearer on the Reverse.

From the above it is clear that the Mark on the Reverse is the same as on the Obverse and is the Sun-Mark, though in each case there are varieties in the punches used.

Mr. Allan (p. lxxix) mentions that similar coins were found at Madhipur in the Bhagalpur district of Bihar in 1925, from which fifty-four specimens were acquired by the Indian Museum, Calcutta. He notes that "the fact that the first three symbols on them are the sun, a six-armed symbol, and a "mountain" connects them closely with Class I and Groups I–VII of Class 2". Those coins, therefore, as Mr. Allan notes, "are most probably the local coins of Magadha in the Maurya period."

The Copper Punch-marked Coins of Eran are of the Mauryan Period

52. Of the coins of Eran (pp. 140–4) six are Die-struck, namely varieties *a*, *c*, *h* (coin No. 19), *m*, *n*, and *o*. All the other twenty-six coins are Punch-marked, and are the only Tribal coins of that class. They are, no doubt, an older coinage than the die-struck coins. As Mr. Allan observes (p. xc): "These coins are possibly isolated survivors of the copper coinage of ancient India, which corresponded to the silver punch-marked coins. The general type is a large square coin with four or five punches on the obverse and a plain reverse; on the few specimens on which there is a reverse type, it is one that really belongs to the obverse series." If we examine the Marks on those coins it will be seen that those which also occur on the silver punch-marked coins are all peculiar to the Later Thick Mauryan coinage, and do not occur on the Older Thin coins, and that the Eran Punch-marked coinage is,

therefore, of the Mauryan period. There are the Elephant with raised trunk; the Bull with the horns crescent-shaped and not curving forward, as on all the Older Thin coins; the later form of the Tree-in-Rail; and the Mark ¥ which never occurs in this form on the Older coins. This latter Mark also occurs on the Tribal coins protected by a Rail, or on a Hill.

A Pre-Mauryan Copper Punch-marked Coin

53. The only known Copper Punch-marked coin definitely Pre-Mauryan that I am aware of is a single coin found at Ramnā near Patna in 1935 at a depth of 12 feet, when a trench was being dug for the Patna sewerage. A large hoard of Silver Punch-marked coins, of which the forty-six coins which could be acquired are Pre-Mauryan, was found in the same operations in the same neighbourhood [1] at a depth of 8 feet. The coin is a thick copper dump, ·65 × ·45 inch, weight 90·1 grains. The Marks on it (enlarged) are :—

Obverse

Reverse

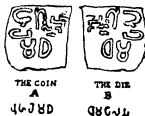
The Coin of Dharmapāla

54. The coin of Eran of Dharmapāla, No. 1, p. 140 (Plate XVIII, 6, *CAI.*, Plate XI, 18), is the earliest known inscribed coin. It bears only an inscription on the Obverse, and the reverse is plain. Cunningham (*CAI.*, p. 101), writes: "It bears the name of *Dhama Pālasini*, written reversedly in large Asoka

[1] Notes on Two Hoards of Silver Punch-marked Coins, one found at Ramnā and one at Machhuatoli. By E. H. C. Walsh, *JBORS.*, 1939, pp. 91–117.

characters of early date," and Mr. Allan writes (p. cxi), "it bears simply the inscription *Dhamapālasa* read round the coin from right to left. The coin cannot be later than the third century and might even be earlier. I am unable to read *lajino* or *raña* in front of Dhamapālasa. In view of the deep striking of the other letters, the marks on the right are probably fortuitous and the analogy of other early coins does not lead us to expect a title."

It would seem unlikely, however, that the coin is earlier than the third century. If the practice of inscribing coins had already been introduced into India in Asoka's time, it would be expected that he, who set up inscriptions in so many parts of India, would also have placed an inscription on his coins. The practice of inscribing Indian coins appears to be later and to have been derived from the Greco-Bactrian coins.

The fact that the inscription runs from right to left and with the letters reversed, would appear to be unintentional, and to be due to the inscription, except the first letter, having been cut on the die by an error in the ordinary direction, instead of being reversed, as shown below, where A is a tracing of the coin from the plate, and B is the same tracing reversed, and is, therefore, a copy of the die.

The figures on the top right-hand corner of the coin may be portions of letters of an inscription, but are illegible.

471.

Bibliography of Indian Music

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THE first attempt to treat of Indian music, at least incidentally if not systematically, was made by the *Sikshas* and the *Prātisākyas*, though both of them related to its vēdic phase. Of these two works, the latter displaced the former on account of a lucid and simple style,[1] although *Nārada Siksha* still continues to remain indispensable, because no *Prātisākya* for *Sāma Vēda* is available.[2]

Nārada, who wrote *Nārada Siksha*, is credited with four other works, viz. *Nāradasamhita*,[3] *Rāganirupana*,[4] *Dēsinritasamudram*,[5] and *Sangītamakaranda*.[6] Whether the same Nārada wrote all the five works is disputed. "The authors of *Siksha* and *Sangītamakaranda*," observed Mr. M. R. Telang, "are not identical; for *Nārada Siksha* appears to be an older work and its language is archaic; and, again, it treats more of the vēdic music than later music." [7] I may add that the author of *Sangītamakaranda* himself revealed another Nārada [8] in his list of musical writers that preceded him. But with regard to *Rāganirupana*, its author chose to

[1] Cf. Max Muller's *History of the Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 116. Compare also the following verse quoted by Mr. Kielhorn from the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. v, p. 142: शिक्षा च प्रातिशाख्यं च विवदाने परस्परम्। शिक्षेव दुर्बलेत्याहुः सिंहस्येव मृगी यथा ॥

[2] Cf. Max Muller's *History of the Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 143.

[3] Mentioned in *Sangītanārāyana* (Madras MSS. Library).

[4] The full name is *Chaturvimsad Satarāganirupanam*. It is in print (2 Malabar Hill, Bombay); and its MSS. are available in the Tanjore Library.

[5] Mentioned in Kōhala's *Sangītamēru*, quoted by Kallināth in p. 680 of *Sangītaratnākara* (Poona edition).

[6] Cf. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 16.

[7] Cf. *Sangītamakaranda* (Gaekwad), Introduction, p. iv.

[8] Cf. *Sangītamakaranda* (Gaekwad), p. 13.

call himself Nārada Muni.[1] Are we, on that account, to identify him with the celestial sage or, at least, with the ancient author of that ancient *Nārada Siksha*? The mention of Mātrugupta[2] in this work at once makes this improbable.

Mātrugupta, be it noted, was an eminent poet of the Court of Vikramāditya of Ujjain,[3] who lived in the first half of the sixth century A.D.[4] Hence, Nārada of *Rāganirupana*, who mentioned Mātrugupta, must have lived *after* the first half of the sixth century A.D. and must therefore be a different person from the ancient Nārada of *Siksha* fame. Even the author of *Sangītamakaranda* mentioned Mātrugupta[5] and must therefore share a similar fate. As for *Nāradasamhita* and *Dēsinritasamudram*, they are not available except as stray quotations and are not therefore considered here.

What are the dates of *Nārada Siksha* and *Sangītamakaranda?*

The exact date of *Nārada Siksha* is not available, but since the Kudumiāmalai Inscription[6] made mention of seven rāgas which had not been even hinted by Bharata, it is unlikely that they existed in his time. Further, since the same seven rāgas found a place in *Nārada Siksha*; it is clear that *Nārada Siksha* must have been written *after* Bharata but *before* the said Inscription. Since, again, Bharata's date, as we shall presently see, is fifth-fourth century B.C., and since the date of the Kudumiamalai Inscription has been fixed to be seventh century A.D.,[7] the date of *Nārada Siksha*, judged from the archaism of its language, may be placed as early second century B.C. That will account for the mention of a few rāgas in the works[8] of Kālidās (first century B.C.).[9]

[1] Cf. *Rāganirupana* (Bombay edition), p. 1. [2] Cf. ibid., p. 1.
[3] Cf. Stein's Translation of Kalhama's *Rājathrangani*, p. 83.
[4] Cf. R. C. Dutt's *Ancient India*, pp. 606–610.
[5] Cf. *Sangītamakaranda*, p. 13.
[6] Cf. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xii, pp. 226–237. [7] Cf. ibid.
[8] Cf. *Kumārasambhavam*, i, 45, and viii, 85; *Vikramorvasiyam*, iv; *Sākuntalam*, i and v.
[9] Cf. *Vikramōrvasiyam* (Kale's edition), Introduction, p. 24; also, K. S. Ramaswami Sastri's *Kālidāsa*, vol. i, p. 79.

As for *Sangitamakaranda*, its editor placed it between seventh and eleventh centuries A.D.[1] Yet since Matanga, whom it mentioned,[2] referred in his return to Rudrata,[3] whose date is about the second quarter of the ninth century [4] or between A.D. 900 and A.D. 970,[5] it has been argued that Matanga himself lived about the ninth century or even after it, and therefore that *Sangitamakaranda* must have been written about the tenth or eleventh century A.D. Yet the mention of Matanga's name in Dāmōdaragupta's *Kuttanimata* [6] negatived that theory and indicated that, since Dāmōdaragupta, as Chief Minister [7] of Jayāpida of Kashmir,[8] lived in the latter part of the eighth century, Matanga, whom it mentioned, must have lived prior to Dāmōdaragupta's time, say, seventh century A.D.[9] Mr. Telang fixed the seventh century as the upper limit of *Sangitamakaranda* because Mātrugupta of sixth century was mentioned in it. Now that the date of Matanga, who was also mentioned in it, has been fixed to be about the seventh century A.D., the upper limit of *Sangitamakaranda* may be altered to eighth century A.D.

India could boast of many early writers on music. In his *Brihad Dēsi* (seventh century A.D.), Matanga quoted the names of thirteen ancient musicians, viz. Kasyapa, Kōhala, Dattila, Durgasakti, Nandikēsvara, Nārada (of *Siksha* fame),

[1] Cf. *Sangitamakaranda* (Gaekwad), Introduction, p. x.

[2] Cf. ibid., p. 13.

[3] Cf. *Sangitaratnākara* (Poona edition), p. 82.

[4] Cf. Dr. Sankaran's *Theories of Rasa and Dhvani*, p. 33 ; also S. K. De's *Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. i, p. 89.

[5] Cf. Banhati's edition of Udbhata's *Kavyālankārasārasangraha*, Introduction, p. xviii.

[6] Cf. Tripati's edition of Dāmōdaragupta's *Kuttanimata*, p. 337, v. 877.

[7] Cf. Stein's Translation of Kalhana's *Rājatarangani*, vol. i, p. 166.

[8] Jayāpida reigned from 779 to 813. Cf. Shattani's *Works*, footnote 5, Introduction, p. x.

[9] Either Kallināth's Matanga should be a different person from Dāmōdaragupta's or Kallināth's Rudvata should be a different person from the author of *Kavyālankāra*. I am disposed to differentiate the two Rudvatas but merge the two Matangas into one who lived about the seventh century A.D.

Brahma, Bharata, Mahēsvara, Yāshtika, Vallabha, Visvāvasu, and Sārdula.

In his *Sangītamakaranda* (eighth century A.D.), Nārada added twenty-five more names, viz. Hari, Matanga, Visvakarma, Harischandra, Kamalāsya, Chandi, Vyāla, Tumburu, Vāyu, Souri, Ānjanēya, Angada, Shanmukha, Bhringi, Dēvēndra, Kubēra, Kusika, Mātrugupta, Rāvana, Samudra, Sarasvati, Bali, Yaksha, Kinnarēsa, and Vikrama.

In Shārngadēr's *Sangītaratnākara* (thirteenth century A.D.) there are twenty-two more names, viz. Sadāsiva, Siva, Visākhila, Kambala, Asvatara, Rambha, Arjuna, Svāti, Guna, Bindurāja, Kshētraja, Rāhala, Rudrata, Nānyabhupal, Bhōja, Paramārti, Sōmēsa, Lollata, Udbhata, Sankuka, Abhinavagupta, and Kīrtidhara.

Adding Shārngadēr himself to the list, we have in all the names of sixty-one ancient musical writers. If we further add the names of a few of the more important successors of Shārngadēr, viz. Vidyāranya, Rāmāmātya, Pundarika Vittala, Sōmanāth, Dāmōdara, Ahōbala, Raghunāth, Venkatamakhi, Gōvindachari, and Tulajaji; we get altogether (61 + 10 =) seventy-one writers on the music of India.

Of these seventy-one, Bharata and Shārngadēr are the two outstanding writers, inasmuch as their respective works, viz. *Nātya Sāstra* and *Sangītaratnākara* represent two different types of musical literature, viz. *nātya* and *gīta* and, as such, form the two pivots round which the whole literature of Indian music revolves.[1]

Bharata is the reputed author of *Nātya Sāstra*. Kālidāsa mentioned his name[2] and thereby acknowledged his precedence. Again, *Matsya Purāna* not only mentioned his name but also attributed to him a new dramatic work, called *Lakshmi Svayamvara*,[3] and hence Bharata must have lived

[1] *Nātya Sāstra* represents *nātya* or the dramaturgic literature wherein music plays a subordinate part; while *Sangītaratnākara* represents *gīta* or the musical literature wherein dramaturgy plays a subordinate part.

[2] Cf. *Vikramōrvasiyam* (Kale's edition), Act ii, 18.

[3] Cf. *Matsya Purāna* (Anandasrama Series) ch. 24, verse 28, p. 43.

prior even to the time of *Matsya Purāna*. Professor Kale placed Kālidāsa in the first century B.C., and Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar placed the upper limit of *Matsya Purāna* in the fourth or third century B.C.[1] Hence the lower limit of Bharata's date will be fifth or fourth century B.C.

His *Nātya Sāstra* is also called *Sutra*, because of its concise form, and, again, *Shatsāhasri*, because of its 6,000 verses. It is an epitome of another work, called *Ādi Bharata* or *Dvadasasāhasri* of 12,000 verses, which is in the form of a dialogue between Pārvati and Siva, and which is supposed to have been written by Sadasiva. This major work is said to have been based on a still more important work, called *Nātya Vēda* of 36,000 verses written by Brahma, hence, perhaps, the observation of Abhinavagupta, that *Nātya Sāstra* represented the three views of Brahma, Sadasiva, and Bharata.[2]

The whole work consists of thirty-six chapters. A few scholars, however, choose to divide the last chapter into two, and make the work appear to contain thirty-seven chapters. The opening chapter deals with the origin of the theatrics; the second, with the forms of the stage as well as with the rules of their construction; the third, with the auspicious ceremonies of the opening day; the fourth, with *Tāndava Lakshana*; and the fifth, with the preliminaries before the commencement of the drama.

The kernel of the work is found in chapters 6 to 34. That "kernel" or science proper is divided broadly into four sections based on the *abhinayas* or modes of conveying the theatrical *rasas* to the audience, viz. *sātvika* or posture, *āngika* or gesture, *vāchika* or speech, and *āhārya* or costume.

The remaining chapters deal with the qualifications and behaviour of the actors and actresses on the stage and explain how theatrics descended from heaven to earth.

[1] Cf. V. R. R.'s *Matsya Purāna, A study*, pp. 71–2.
[2] *Nātya Sāstra* (Gaekwad), vol. i, Preface, pp. 5–6.

Incidentally, chapters 28 to 33 deal with music—but only as an *anga* of *nātya*.

As for Shārngadēr, I shall describe his career in his own words :—

" There was in Kashmir a family, called Svastigriha, which traced its lineage from Varshagana Rishi and whose reputation spread far and wide in all directions. In that family, was born Bhāskara, who was ever graced with the presence of the performers of sacrifices, persons of virtuous disposition, vēdic scholars, and the more prominent of the Twice-born, much in the same manner as Brahma was graced with the presence of the celestials and who, like the Bhaskara (Sun) in the Winter Solstice, moved southward as if to ornament that direction and reached Donlatabad. To him was born a son, called Sri Sōdala, who was intelligent and of high breeding and who, having propitiated the King of Bhillana Tribe, named Singhana, bestowed upon that virtuous Sri Singhana the highly prosperous emblem of victory obtained by his reputation of having removed all ills from the world. Like unto the very moon, Shārngadēr emerged from out of the churned ocean of *Sri Sōdala*—Shārngadēr who was ever of helping tendency, who illuminated all his surroundings, who had duly served his *Guru*, who had pleased all the Gods, who had studied all the *Sāstras*, who had worshipped all the worship-deserving persons, who had acquired name and fame in this world, who had a beautiful Manmatha-like form, and who had a keen sense of discrimination. Having aimlessly wandered from place to place, the society-loving Sarasvati got perplexed and tired ; and, at last, she found an eternal rest-house in Shārngadēr. Having, by gift of wealth, removed the age-long distress of the otherwise lucky and skilful Vipras (Brahmins), having imparted education to those that desired to learn, having given medicine to those that suffered from diseases ; the highly intelligent Shārngadēr, who has a special liking for amusing pursuits, now launches into the world his *Sangītaratnākara*, with a view to remove the three

kinds of miseries of all the people and for the purpose of acquiring thereby eternal virtue, fame, and beatitude."

From the above autobiography, the following important facts may be gleaned :—

(1) Shārngadēr was the son of Sōdala and the grandson of Bhāskara.

(2) Bhāskara was at first in Kashmir but migrated to Donlatabad in the south where King Singhana ruled from A.D. 1210–1247, and where Sōdala was employed.

(3) Shārngadēr's date, therefore, is the first half of the thirteenth century A.D.

Shārngadēr delighted to call himself *Srikaranāgrani* or *Nissanka*. The former denoted his official designation as the chief Accountant of Singhana's Government, while the latter indicated that he could grasp any subject clearly and without any doubt about it. Curiously enough, he named a *vīnā* of his own invention—*nissanka*.[1] He wrote two works, viz. *Adhyātma Vivēka* and *Sangitaratnākara*.

It is the latter with which we are now concerned. In writing it, Shārngadēr seems to have proceeded on the following principle : " Having first grounded himself in *svaras* (Chapter I) and *rāgas* (Chapter II), a Learner should learn the art of voice-production (Chapter III), to compose different types of songs (Chapter IV), to sing those compositions under the control of time (Chapter V), accompanied by instruments (Chapter VI), and give a finishing stroke to them by dancing (Chapter VII). Hence it is that *Sangītaratnākara* consists of seven chapters dealing with *svara, rāga, prakīrna, prabandha, tāla, vādya,* and *nartana.*

As regards other musical writers, let us briefly and chronologically consider a few of the more important of them. In doing so, we shall divide those writers into two groups and call them *Bharata's Group,* which contributed more to the

[1] Cf. *Sangitaratnākara*, p. 480.

nātya Literature, and *Shārngadēr's Group*, which contributed more to the *gita* Literature.[1]

First, *Bharata's Group*. One of the foremost of the earliest musicians that India ever produced was Tumburu. Kalbināth quoted him in connection with four kinds of *Smti*[2]; and Lōchana Kavi made a pointed reference to his work, called *Tumburu Nātaka*, in connection with the appropriate time for singing *rāgas*.[3]

Kōhala is a hoary name quoted even by such early writers as Dattila,[4] Bharata,[5] and Matanga.[6] Three works,[7] viz. *Abhinaya Sāstra*, *Tāla Lakshana*, and *Rahasya* stand credited to his name. A fourth work, called *Dattila-Kōhaliyam*[8] was mentioned by Dr. Burnell. In *Sangītaratnākara* (pp. 675–689), Kallināth quoted, in connection with dancing, a full chapter from a work, called *Sangītamēru*, and attributed that work to Kōhala, but this Kōhala, inasmuch as he quoted Kirtidhara[9] and Matanga,[10] must have been a later namesake of the Kōhala referred to by Bharata.

Dattila is coupled with Kōhala as a joint author of *Dattila Kōhaliyam*. Both of them must have been ancient authors, as Kōhala was specifically mentioned by Dāmōdaragupta in his *Kuttanimata*.[11] Dattila also wrote an independent work on dramaturgy, called *Dattilam*, of which the Trivandrum edition is but an abridgment. Again, the colophon of a work, called *Rāgasāgara*,[12] describes that work as a dialogue between Dattila and Nārada.

[1] Bharata's Group consists of Bharata's predecessors and successors; so also with Shārngadēr's Group.
[2] Cf. *Sangītaratnākara*, p. 35.
[3] Cf. *Ragatarangini* (Durbanga edition), p. 131.
[4] Cf. *Dattilam* (TVM. edition), p. 12.
[5] Cf. *Nātya Sāstra* (Benares), pp. 3, 474, 475.
[6] Cf. *Brihad Desi* (TVM. edition), pp. 5, 12, 32, 39, 96.
[7] Cf. Madras MSS. Library Catalogue, vol. xxii, Nos. 12989, 12992.
[8] Cf. Burnell's *Tanjore Catalogue*, p. 60.
[9] Cf. *Sangītaratnākara*, p. 677.
[10] Cf. ibid., p. 684.
[11] Cf. *Kuttanimata* (Tripati edition), p. 19, verse 82; p. 336, verse 876.
[12] Cf. Madras MSS. Library Catalogue, vol. xxii, No. 13014.

To Nandikēsvara five works are attributed, viz. *Bharatār nava,*[1] *Talalakshana,*[2] *Nandimata,*[3] *Abhinayadarpana,*[4] an *Nandi Bharatam.*[5] The Kāvyamāla edition of *Nāṭya Sāstr* named the latter portion of the work " Nandi Bharatam ' probably because—as S. K. De [6] suggests—the latter portio of *Nātya Sāstra* was recast later in accordance with th views of Nandikēsvara. A separate work, however, of tha name, Mr. Lewis Rice has noticed in his *Mysore and Coor Catalogue.*

Abhinayadarpana is an abridgment of *Bharatārnava,*[7] an it pays exclusive attention to *Āngika Abhinayas.* In respec of names, definitions, and their numbers, Nandikēsvar differed from Bharata. For instance, the head gestures wer thirteen according to Bharata but only nine according t Nandikēsvara ; and of them only five were common to both

Arjuna, mentioned by Shārngadēr,[8] is the author of *Arjun Bharatam.*[9] Even the Pāndava Arjuna had been a dancin master in Virata Raja's harem.

Kasyapa, mentioned by Nārada [10] and Shārngadēr [11] an also quoted by Matanga,[12] must have been a great writer o Dramaturgy, and hence, Abhinavagupta found it advantageou to quote him in more places than one. Further, Kasyap seems to have been a great authority on *rāgas* and their *rasas* and has been, in that connection, quoted along with Durgasak' by Shārngadēr [13] and Matanga.[14]

[1] Cf. ibid. (Trien Cat., 1910–13), R. No. 354.
[2] Cf. Burnell's *Tanjore Catalogue*, p. 60.
[3] Cf. *Nātya Sāstra* (Gaekwad), vol. i, p. 171.
[4] Cf. Madras MSS. Library Catalogue, vol. xxii, No. 12980. Printe Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. v (1934).
[5] Cf. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg Catalogue*, p. 292.
[6] Cf. S. K. De's *Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. i, p. 24.
[7] Cf. *Abhinayadarpana* (Calcutta edition), p. lxii.
[8] Cf. *Sangītaratnākara*, p. 5.
[9] Cf. Burnell's *Tanjore Catalogue*, p. 60.
[10] Cf. *Sangītamakaranda*, p. 13.
[11] Cf. *Sangītaratnākara*, p. 5.
[12] Cf. *Brihad Desi*, pp. 87, 92, 94, 97, 99, 103, 104.
[13] Cf. *Sangītaratnākara*, p. 182. [14] Cf. *Brihad Desi*, p. 94.

Ānjanēya is mentioned both by Nārada [1] and Shārngadēr.[2] Saradātanaya's quotations [3] from Ānjanēya lead us to think that the latter must have written a work on Dramaturgy, whilst the references made of him by Ahōbala [4] and Dāmōdara [5] suggest that he wrote a work on music as well, and that he was associated with the *rāga-rāgini* system. Sōmanāth [6] and Raghunath [7] spoke of him as having popularized *dēsi-rāgas* which he had learnt from Yāshtika.

Of all the commentators of *Nātya Sāstra*, Kirtidhara, who is placed last in Shārngadēr's list,[8] seems to have been the earliest, since he was quoted [9] in an earlier work, *Sangitamēru*, attributed to Kōhala. Further evidence is that another work of Nandikēsvara was cited by Abhinavagupta, not directly, but only on the authority of Kirtidhara.[10]

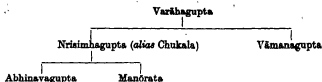
Other commentators were successively Udbhata, Lollata, Sankuka, and Abhinavagupta.[11] There were also a few more casual commentators such as Sri Harsha, Tikakara, Bhatta Totta, Bhatta Yantra, Bhatta Nayak, Bhatta Vridhî, Bhatta Gopal, Bhatta Sumanas, Suya, Sakaligarbha, and Priyayati, but their commentaries seem to have been lost, though we get a glimpse of them through Abhinavagupta, whose commentary alone has survived.

Abhinavagupta was a Kashmirian. He belonged to a family of scholars. His father was a great musician, and his paternal uncle was a renowned poet. The following is his pedigree :—

[1] Cf. *Sangītamakaranda*, p. 13.
[2] Cf. *Sangītaratnākara*, p. 6.
[3] Cf. *Bhāvaprakāsana* (Gaekwad), pp. 114 and 251.
[4] Cf. *Sangītapārijāta* (Poona), ch. i, 11.
[5] Cf. *Sangītadarpana* (Bombay), pp. 75–6.
[6] Cf. *Ragaribodha* (Mysore edition), ch. i, 35.
[7] Cf. *Sangītasudha*.
[8] Cf. *Sangītaratnākara*, p. 6.
[9] Cf. ibid., p. 677.
[10] Cf. *Abhinavabhārati* (Madras MSS. Library), vol. iv, p. 50.
[11] Cf. *Sangītaratnākara*, p. 6.

Varāhagupta

Nrisimhagupta (*alias* Chukala) — Vāmanagupta

Abhinavagupta — Manōrata

Besides learning music from his own father, Abhinavagupta learnt *Dhvanyālōka* from Bhattēnduraja and *Nātya Sāstra* from Bhatta Tōta. He wrote three commentaries :—

(1) *Lōchana* on Dhvanyālōka.
(2) *Kāvyakowthukavivaranam* on Tōta's work ; and
(3) *Abhinavabhārati* on *Nātya Sāstra.*

The last work, *Abhinavabhārati*, may be regarded as an important milestone in the history of the musical literature of India and sheds considerable light on the state of *nātya* and *gīta* during, and even before, Abhinavagupta's time.

It was Jayāpida of Kashmir who, under the influence of an actress, evinced unbounded enthusiasm for *nātya*, as he had done for *Mahābhāshya*,[1] and asked his court-poet Udbhata [2] to write a commentary on *Nātya Sāstra.*[3] This inaugurated an era of intensive study of the science of Dramaturgy. Lollata's refutation [4] of Udbhata and Sankuka's criticism [5] of Udbhata himself created a great sensation and gave a further impetus to that " intensive study " to which Abhinavagupta gave grace and dignity.

With the mention of Nānyadēra and Sāradātanaya, Bharata's Group comes practically to an end. Nānyadēra's work is *Bharata Bhāshya* which treats of *nātya* and of *gita,* whilst that of Sāradātanaya is *Bhāraprakāsana,* the scope of which is to collect and examine all the theories existing before and after the time of Bharata.

[1] Cf. Stein's Translation of Kalhana's *Rājatarangani,* vol. i, p. 165.
[2] Cf. ibid., p. 160.
[3] Cf. ibid., p. 166.
[4] Cf. *Nātya Sāstra* (Gaekwad), vol. i, pp. 265–6.
[5] Cf. ibid., p. 275 ; Dr. Sankaran's *Theory of Rasa and Dhvani,* pp. 99–100.

Secondly, *Shārngadēv's Group.* Matanga it was that practically led this second Group, or was, at least, a precursor thereto. Being a reputed flutist,[1] his attention naturally receded from *nātya* and became more and more interested in *rāga*, which is the quintessence of *gita*. He had further imbibed the spirit of his two *rāga*-inclined predecessors, Yāshtika and Sārdula, so that he quoted a whole chapter on *bhāsha*[2] from the former's work[3] and reproduced sixteen specific *Bhāshas* from the latter's work.[4] Hence he ventured to break loose from Bharata and deal with the subject of *rāgas*, in a manner avowedly different from Bharata's.[5]

Brihad Dēsi is Matanga's monumental work. The Trivandrum edition of it treats of six subjects, viz. *svara*, *giti*, *jāti*, *rāga*, *bhāsha*, and *prabandha* but abruptly stops there, though with a promise[6] of the seventh chapter on *vādya*.

Nārada, the author of *Sangītamakaranda*, is the next prominent music writer of the second Group. His work has only two chapters, each of which falls into four sections. The first chapter is on *gita*, while the second is on *nātya*. Of the first chapter, the first two sections treat of *svara*, while the last two treat of *rāga*. In the second chapter, the first and last sections treat of dancing, and the middle two of *tāla*. Here and there the subjects overlap. *Sangītamakaranda* seems to be the first available work to speak about the *rāga-rāgini* system[7] and also about such musical curiosities as the families, castes, colours, places, births, *rishis*, deities, metres, *gōtras*, stars, *rāsis*, planets, spirits, and *rasas* of the seven *svaras*,[8] which even Bharata did not note but which

[1] Cf. *Kuttanimata*, p. 337, verse 877.
[2] Cf. "Bhāsha" means a species of Rāga.
[3] Cf. *Brihad Dēsi*, pp. 104–133. From सर्वागमसंहिता.
[4] Cf. ibid., pp. 133–140.
[5] Cf. ibid., p. 81.
[6] Cf. ibid., p. 154.
[7] Cf. *Sangītamakaranda* (Gaekwad), pp. 18–20.
[8] Cf. ibid., pp. 3–5.

Shārngadēr almost copied.[1] Again, its five divisions[2] of musical sound and its nomenclature[3] of the twenty-two *srutis* are quite novel. Finally, it misinterpreted the *grāma* theory,[4] causing considerable misunderstanding.

Umāpati's *Aumapata Gita Sāstra*,[5] Pratapa's *Sangitachudāmani*,[6] Mammata's *Sangitaratnamāla*,[7] Sōmēsvara's *Sangitaratnāvali*,[8] and Parsvadeva's *Sangītasamayasāra*[9]—all came into existence, in this order, *before* the appearance of that epoch-making *Sangitaratnākara* of Shārngadēr.

Of these, only the last-mentioned work has seen the light as a publication of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series—No. 87. It consists of nine chapters dealing with sound, *gita*, *alapti*, *staya*, *rāga*, *prabandha*, *vadya*, *tāla*, and *nritta*, and it quotes the names of Matanga, Bhōja, Paramārdi, Sankara, Digambara, and Dattila besides those of Sōmēsvara and Pratāpa.

Thus the rills of *nātya* literature and the brooks of *gita* literature ran their respective courses up to the thirteenth century A.D., when all of them joined together and swelled into that mighty and revered river of Shārngadēr's *Sangitaratnākara*, which both North and South Indians, alike, claimed as their own into which to plunge.

Many musical works followed *Sangitaratnākara* immediately, such as, Hammira's *Sangita Sringāra Hara*, Haripāladēr's *Sangitasudhākara*, Sudhakalasa's *Sangitōpanishad*, Vēmbabhupal's *Sangitachintāmani*, Kumbha's *Sangitarāj*, and Lakshminārayan's *Sangitasuryōdaya*, but all of them merely echoed views and sentiments crystallized by that giant of Indian music, the immortal Shārngadēr, on whose work,

[1] Cf. *Sangitaratnākara*, pp. 44–5.
[2] Cf. *Sangitamakaranda*, p. 2.
[3] Cf. ibid., p. 8.
[4] Cf. ibid., pp. 5–6.
[5] Cf. Madras MSS. Library Trien Cat., 1916–19, No. 2498.
[6] Cf. Trivandrum Palace Library, No. 1417.
[7] Cf. extracts from *Sangitanarayana* (Madras MSS. Library).
[8] Cf. Buhler's *Guvaeat Catalogue*, p. 274.
[9] Cf. [illegible]

Sangitaratnākara, so many as seven scholars wrote learned commentaries—four in Sanskrit, two in Telugu, and one in Hindi. Of these, only two Sanskrit commentaries are available, viz. those of Kallinath (covering the whole work) and Simhabhupal (on the first chapter).

In the sixteenth century Rāmāmātya wrote his *Svaramēlakalānidhi* and thereby tolled the knell of the ancient period of Indian music and inaugurated its medieval period. Sōmanāth followed and issued his *Rāgavibōdha*. Both of these writers rejected the old method of enumerating the *rāgas* and adopted the new classifying method of reducing them to a Genus-Species System. Both *Svaramēlakalānidhi* and *Rāgavibōdha* have been edited by the present writer with a translation.

This new *system* was appreciated by Raghunath, Venkatamakhi, and Govindachari, and their respective works, viz. *Sangitasudha*, *Chaturdandiprakāsika*, and *Sangrahachudāmani*, emphasized the importance of the *melakarta* system and thereby started the modern period of Indian music.

Quite recently, V. N. Bhatkhande wrote his *Lakshya Sangita* and by this means conveyed the South Indian *melakarta* system to North India, with a view to drive away the *rāga-rāgini* system wherewith the names of Nārada, Damīdara, and Lōchana Kavi had been associated.

Finally, mention must be made of Ahōbala's *Sangitapārijāta*, the first work in Sanskrit that described the *svaras* in terms of string lengths. This author enunciated a fantastic theory of *grāma* which, however wrong in itself, served to open the eyes of the moderns, enabling them to see that, with regard to the question of *grāma*, Bharata, Narada of *Siksha*-fame, and Matanga, had each an intelligent solution to offer, while all others, from Nārada of *Sangitamakaranda* fame right down to Venkatamakhī, did not properly grasp the problem and caused thereby no inconsiderable mischief to the music world of India.

The Puranic Line of Heroes

By W. RUBEN

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	Agnipurāṇam, as in Kirfel.
B	Brahmapurāṇam, ed. ASS, 28.
Bḍ	Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam, as in Kirfel.
Bh	Bhāgavatapurāṇam, as in Kirfel.
Ga	Garuḍapurāṇam, as in Kirfel.
H	Harivaṁśa, ed. with Nīlakaṇṭha, Bombay, Venkaṭeśvar Press, 1928
Kirfel	*Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*, Bonn, 1927, and *Festschrift Jacobi* pp. 298–316.
Kū	Kūrmapurāṇam, as in Kirfel.
Li	Liṅgapurāṇam, as in Kirfel.
Mbh	Mahābhārata, ed. with Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary by Ramachandr Kinjawadekar, Poona, 1929–1936.
	Ādiparvan, ed. by V. S. Sukthankar, Poona, 1927 sqq.
Manu	Manusmṛti, ed. N. Vittalasarman, Bombay, Śaka, 1809.
Mr	Mārkāṇḍeyapurāṇam, as in Kirfel.
Mt	Matsyapurāṇam, as in Kirfel.
P	Padmapurāṇam, as in Kirfel.
Rām.	Rāmāyaṇa, ed. Pandurang Jawaji, Bombay, Śaka, 1842.
Vā	Vāyupurāṇam, as in Kirfel.
Vai	Brahmavaivarttapurāṇam, as in Kirfel.
Vi	Viṣṇupurāṇam, ed. with Śrīdhara's commentary by Jīvānand Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1882.

AFTER Pargiter Kirfel especially has pushed on the textua criticism of the Purāṇas. He collated carefully the so-called central part of certain Purāṇas (B-H, Bḍ-Vā, Mt-P Ga, Vi, A, Li, Kū, Vā, Mr). This part may be called th "world's history" of the Vaiṣṇavas, containing the famous "five topics" of every Purāṇa: the creation, the creation in detail, the lines of the first beings, the world's ages the lines of the heroes. Kirfel discovered that the oldest version of this text is preserved in the nearly identica recensions of H-B, but he did not go on to the end. (1) He could not identify the chapters of his text with the fiv topics, (2) he did not always follow the readings of H- (cf. § 8), (3) he did not ask if H or B has the older text, anc

(4) if the source of H-B is still extant. Reading the story of Kṛṣṇa in the Mbh, H, and B, I gathered some other material useful for this problem, which is of some importance for the history of Indian religion and literature. If we consider that according to Indian tradition H is purely a supplement to the Mbh, then the question arises: Has H borrowed this world's history (*vaṁśa*) from B, and was this text originally an independent one still preserved in B, or had B taken the text from H? The main point of this paper is that B has borrowed from H, and that H really is a supplement to and an imitation of the Mbh. It escaped Kirfel that the Ādiparvan of the Mbh contains the shorter and older " world's history ", enlarged and copied by H. This paper is devoted to a comparison of the Saṁbhavaparvan of the Ādiparvan and the Vaṁśaparvans of H, B, and other Purāṇas. It follows that the central part of these Purāṇas is relatively recent. On the other hand H is rightly called the oldest Purāṇa, B (cf. § 16) is a copy of H, and Vi (cf. § 17) is a younger version of the original B.

§ 1. Brahmapurāṇa follows the Harivaṁśa, and Harivaṁśa is a supplement to the Mahābhārata.

The single word *purā* in B 13, 58 = H 32, 14,[1] is especially adapted to serve as the foundation-stone of the textual criticism of the line (*vaṁśa*) in B and H. It occurs in an important place in the line of the Bharatas and means that the story of how the sons of the eponymous hero, Bharata, lost their lives has been told before, and that there is no necessity for it to be told again. But in B the story has not been told before. Nīlakaṇṭha, commenting on H, refers to the corresponding story in the Ādiparvan. This reference cannot mean anything but Mbh, i, 89, 17, because Sørensen in his *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata* does not quote any other passage relating to the sons of Bharata. Correspondingly the Vāyupurāṇa has inserted here this śloka of

[1] Cf. Kirfel, 539, 18. He reads *yathā* instead of *purā* in H, but the reading *purā* in H is confirmed by B and Nil.

the Mbh and the subsequent line, to be found only in the Northern recension of the epic.[1] We may therefore conclude that B has copied this śloka verbatim from H, in view of its having no meaning in B.[2] H therefore is really, as it claims to be, a supplement of the Mbh. There is no passage in the whole vaṁśa conflicting with this line of development: Mbh-H-B(-Vi-Bh, etc.). This experience suggested to me then comparing the whole vaṁśa of B, 1–17 = H, 1–39, with the Ādiparvan.[3] This vaṁśa should be divided into seven chapters.

§ 2. Ādisarga. B, 1 = H, 1, contains the first creation. This title is given in both texts at the end of this chapter (Kirfel, 5, 29). The creation is a commonplace of the epics.[4] The story of the cosmogonical egg of this Puranic chapter occurs, e.g. in Ādiparvan, 1, 27 sqq., and śloka 29*cd* of the Mbh (with its various readings) corresponds with the Purāṇas (Kirfel, 2, 3*ab*). In Mbh, i, 89, 10*cd* sq. (the chapter cited above), there are mentioned six ṛṣis, in H, etc. (Kirfel, 4, 16), seven, in the other Purāṇas nine (Kirfel, 35 and 67), and in Manu, i, 35, ten (= Mt, Kirfel, 137). But the first line of the śloka is verbatim the same in all the texts, which means that the number has increased with time.

§ 3. Dakṣavisṛṣṭi. B, 2 = H, 2, contains the creation of Dakṣa, the title occurring in śloka 57 in both texts (Kirfel, 141 sqq.). In this chapter of H first the real line of Dakṣa is told, then (Kirfel, 151, 48 sqq.; cf. note [2] below) the legend of how Dakṣa came out of the finger of Brahmā. This corresponds to Mbh, i, 70, 3 sq., telling his descent, and i, 60, 9 sq., telling the origin from Brahmā's thumb.

[1] 879* = Kirfel, 18, 1*ab*. Kirfel, 18, 1*cd*, is similar to Mbh., ibid., 20*cd*.

[2] H (Kirfel, 151, 48; cf. infra §3) refers in a similar way to Mbh, i, 60, 9. In this case B instead of *pūrvam* reads *asmābhiḥ*. Here, too, B depends on, and rectifies, H, and H depends on the Mbh. In Bḍ-Vā this *pūrvam* may refer to Kirfel, 67, 62.

[3] Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* (1915), § 139, has compared Rām., iii, 14, with this part of the Ādiparvan.

[4] Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 189 sqq.

But only in H (and the later Purāṇas: Kirfel, 151, 51) there is some consciousness of the contradiction on the part of the writer.

§ 4. Bhūtasarga. The third chapter contains the creation of the beings (B, 3, 126 = H, 3, 140), how Dakṣa begot his sixty daughters (Kirfel, 155 sqq.; 159, 26) and married them to Dharma, Kaśyapa, Soma, etc. (Kirfel, 160, 28). In the Mbh it is told that Dakṣa begot fifty daughters (i, 60, 10; 70, 7), of whom ten were married to Dharma, thirteen to Kaśyapa, and twenty-seven to Soma, quite in accordance with H-B[1]; the remaining ten girls according to H-B-Bḍ-Vā (Kirfel, 160, 28) were given to Ariṣṭanemi, etc. The wives of Dharma are treated in Mbh, i, 60, 13 sq., and Kirfel, 160, 31, respectively, those of Kaśyapa in Mbh, i, 59, 12 sq., and Kirfel, 163, 52 sqq., those of Soma in Mbh, i, 60, 15, and Kirfel, 164, 60*cd* sq. The ślokas of this part of the vaṁśa (unobserved by Kirfel) are partly the same in Mbh and H-B and A (partly in Ga, Kū: Kirfel, 161) and Bḍ-Vā (Kirfel, 175):—

Mbh, i, 60.		Kirfel, 161.		Kirfel, 175.
16*cd*	=	35*cd*	=	om.
17[2]	=	36	=	21
20*ab*	=	38*cd*	=	22*ab*
20*cd*	=	37*cd*	=	22*cd*
21*ab*	=	38*ab*	=	23*a* (*b*)
21*cd*	=	39*ab*	=	om.
22*ab*	=	37*ab*	=	24*cd*
22*cd*	=	40*cd*	=	25*cd*
23*ab*	=	41*ab*	=	26*ab*
23*cd*	=	41*cd*	=	om.
om.		42*ab* (H only)	=	25*ab* (cf. § 9)
24	=	39*cd*, 40*ab*	=	26*cd*, 27*ab*
25	=	42*cd*, 43*ab*	=	27*cd*, 28*ab*
26	=	43*cd*, 44	=	28*cd*, 29
27–28	=	45–46	=	30–31
29*ab*	=	47*ab*	=	32*ab*

[1] Mbh, i, 70, 8 = Kirfel, 150, 45. B and H have modified its line *cd*, but A, Bḍ-Vā, Vi, have retained the old reading to be assumed for the original H.

[2] Mbh, 18–19 are also missing in some MSS. of the Mbh. The mistake may have been caused by the word *pratyūṣa* at the beginning of 17*c* and 19*c*.

Some lines of the Mbh are missing in Bḍ-Vā, but not in H-B. Some lines have been transposed in H-B, but not in Bḍ-Vā. Sometimes the reading of H-B agrees with Mbh (Kirfel, 161, 36*d*, *smṛtāḥ*; 37*c*, *bhagavān*; 45*a*, *mahābhāga*; 45*c*; 46*b*; *c*; *d*; 47*b*), sometimes, but seldom, Bḍ-Vā agree with Mbh (Kirfel, 175, 21*a*, *Dharo*; 21*d*, *aṣṭau*; 29*b*, *vicaraty uta*; *d*, *ha*; 30*b*, *śilpiprajāpatiḥ*), sometimes H-B with Bḍ-Vā against Mbh (Kirfel, 161, 38*a*, *bhagavān* = 175, 23*a* = N_3 only; Kirfel, 161, 37*a* = 175, 24*c*; 161, 40*d* = 176, 25*d*, similar to D_5 only in Mbh, 22*d*, etc.). This means that the Mbh is the common source, the contents and readings of which are mostly preserved in H-B, but whose order and some readings in Bḍ-Vā.[1]

But there are a great many differences, too, e.g. Hiraṇyākṣa (Kirfel, 165, 66) is missing in Mbh, 59, 17; instead of Kumbha and Nikumbha, the sons of Prahrāda (Mbh, ibid., 19), there appear Sunda and Nisunda, the sons of Saṁhrāda (Kirfel, 165, 69*cd*); Danu has 100 sons (Kirfel, 166, 73) instead of twenty-four (Mbh, ibid., 21); the mother of Rāhu is not the wife of Kaśyapa (as in Mbh, ibid., 12 and 30), but Kaśyapa's daughter (Kirfel, 165, 67; 168, 89 sqq.); the sons of Pulastya, Pulaha, and Kratu (Mbh, 60, 7 sq.) are missing. But these points are not so important.

§ 5. The fourth chapter in B and the fourth and fifth in H (Kirfel, 226 sqq.) contain the story of Pṛthu, the first king, and as an introduction to this story the instalment of the kings of all the different beings.[2] This part is missing in Mbh, i, 70, and in the Agnipurāṇa. A contains an extract

[1] It might therefore be reasonable, for instance, in Mbh, 24*b*, to prefer *manojava* of some valuable Northern MSS. in accordance with H-B and Bḍ-Vā. The archetype of the vaṁśa in the original H is to be restored with the help of Bḍ-Vā, wherever these Purāṇas conform with the Mbh. But because the testimony of the Mbh can only be used very seldom, one has to follow H-B in the main line instead of Bḍ-Vā. According to this material Bḍ-Vā must have come down from H some time before its vaṁśa became deteriorated and became the source of B (cf. § 8).

[2] Cf. the similar chapter in H, 220.

of all the other chapters of H, and therefore Kirfel, p. xxxiv, has already suggested that this chapter did not belong to the oldest version of H.

§ 6. Manvantara. The fifth chapter (B, 5 = H, 7–8) is a description of the Manvantaras. It, too, may have been an old independent text, later inserted into H as Kirfel supposed (p. xxxvi), because A contains this chapter, not in the recension of H as usual, but in that of the Viṣṇupurāṇa. H in this chapter twice quotes the "Vāyu" as its source (Kirfel, 255, 13; 256, 24), but the Vāyupurāṇa, as we have it, agrees with Bḍ and not with H, and is clearly more recent than H (Kirfel, p. xxxv sq.). There are also two analogous cases where H has interpolated this conception of Manvantaras into the vaṁśa of the Mbh (Kirfel, 163, 53*cd* sqq.; 171, 110 sqq.).

In this chapter B sometimes does not agree with H:—

(1) The ślokas H, 7, 42–5, are not to be found before B, 5, 42, as they should be, but before B, 52*cd*. This has been caused by a mistake of a scribe of B,[1] who confused B, 42*ab* with 52*cd*, both lines beginning with the same words.

(2) In the same way H, 7, 49*cd*–58 are missing after B, 5, 45*ab* (= H, 49*ab*), because the scribe has jumped from B, 45*ab* (= H, 49*ab*: *ete sapta* . . .) immediately to H, 58*ab* (*eṣa sapta* . . .). He has also omitted the following line (H, 58*cd*) because it is similar to H, 59*ef* = B, 46*cd*.

(3) H, 60–84, is missing after B, 46 (= H, 59*cdef*). This passage contains the description beginning with the ninth up to the fourteenth Manvantara. This means that in B there is the description of only one future Manvantara, whereas H-Bḍ-Vā describe seven of them. It would be wrong to suppose that B has preserved here the shortest and therefore the oldest form of the text, because even B mentions at the end that there are fourteen Manvantaras, six past, one present, seven to come (Kirfel, 272, 82; cf. § 10).

[1] Either by a later one, or by the original author or compiler of B.

(4) After B, 54*ab*, the whole passage of H, 8, 1–23*ab*, is missing. These ślokas are wanting in the other Purāṇas too (silently omitted by Kirfel after 271, 80). They contain a reckoning of the Manvantara, of which the śloka H, 8, 12, is nearly the same as Manu, i, 69. On the other hand Manu corresponds exactly with Mbh, xii, 231, 20, and is very similar to the Mārkāṇḍeyapurāṇa (Kirfel, 12, 7), etc. :—

H.		Mbh.		Manu.		Mr, 12.
2*ab*	similar to	15*ab*	=	65*ab*		om.
3*abc*	do.	12*abc*	~	64*abc* (*bc* = H)	~	3*acd* (Kirfel)
6*a*	do.	14*a*		om.	~	5*ab*
		15*cd*	=	65*cd*		
		16–17	=	66–67		
12	do.	20	=	69	~	7
		21	=	70		
		23–28	=	81–86		

To sum up: (1) H, (2) Manu-Mbh, and (3) Mr are three excerpts of the same old text. The tradition of this passage is quite different from that of the other chapters of the vaṁśa.

§ 7. Sūryavaṁśa. In the sixth chapter the vaṁśa continues in direct connection with the third chapter. Kaśyapa begot Vivasvān, whose children were Manu, Yama, and Yamī, the fairy tale of her mother Saṁjñā (Kirfel, 285 sq.), being a fuller account of Mbh, i, 60, 34, already told in Vedic texts.[1] Manu begot Ikṣvāku and some other boys and the girl Ilā. From Ikṣvāku descended the Solar line of kings.

The vaṁśa of the Mbh, like that of H-B (cf. § 5–6), is interrupted by two stories. Mbh, i, 61 : The gods and demons are born as men and heroes in the great war. Mbh, i, 62–9 : The eponymous hero of the Bhāratas, Bharata, is born as the son of Purūravas and Urvaśī. Thereafter the vaṁśa of the Mbh goes on by shortly recapitulating the previous story of Dakṣa and his daughters (i, 70, 3–8). It differs here from H in telling how Vivasvān begot Yama, Yama begot Mārttāṇḍa,[2] Mārttāṇḍa begot Manu, Manu Ikṣvāku, etc.

[1] Blau, *ZDMG.*, 62, 1908, 337 sqq.

[2] Mārttāṇḍa is Vivasvān according to H-B ; Mārttāṇḍa is missing in Mbh, i, 90, 7.

(10–11). Among these sons only H mentions Dhṛṣṇu (Kirfel, 299, 1), in accordance with the oldest Northern MSS. of Mbh, i, 70, 13, which means that H is even more similar to the Mbh than the other Purāṇas are. The following generations of Ikṣvāku's family are not described in the Mbh, nay it is even said that Manu's sons destroyed each other in a fight (i, 70, 15). It can easily be understood that the Aikṣvākavas were the heroes of the Rāmāyaṇa and that the Mbh was not interested in them. It was H which introduced the details of their story into the great vaṁśa. It was the work of H to combine the four different vaṁśas of Rāma, the Bharatas, Kṛṣṇa, and the Bhārgavas,[1] and this was the beginning of the Puranic vaṁśa (cf. § 15).

§ 8. Somavaṁśa. In the seventh chapter H-B begin with the Lunar kings, starting from Atri who has been mentioned in the first chapter (H, 25 = B, 9 ; Kirfel, 349 sqq.). He begot the moon, Soma. Soma married twenty-seven daughters of Dakṣa (Kirfel, 351, 21), who are sometimes recorded as the wives of Dharma (Mbh, i, 60, 13, similar to Kirfel, 37, 21 : P, V, Ga, Mr : Lakṣmī, etc. ; Kirfel, 160, 30 : Vasu : H, B, Vi, Ga). Later he deprived Bṛhaspati of his wife Tārā (Kirfel, 352 sq.). She bore him Budha, who from his wife Ilā (cf. *supra*) begot Purūravas. In the Mbh Budha is left out in this connection, and it is expressly stated that Ilā is not only the mother but at the same time the father of Purūravas (i, 70, 16), a very old-fashioned idea. Purūravas is cruel in the Mbh, but in H he is a pious man. His marriage with Urvaśī (comparable with that of Mélusine in the fairy tale) is only shortly mentioned in Mbh, i, 70, 21, and B (Kirfel, 355), but is told at length in H (and Bḍ-Vā). It may be that here H has borrowed the story from Bḍ-Vā at a later period after B had already taken the version of

[1] As regards the Bhārgavas, cf. Sukthankar, Epic Studies, VI, *Annals of the Bhandarkar ORI*, xviii, 1 sqq. In H, 53, 74, there occurs the difference between the lines of the Vṛṣṇi, Kuru, and Pañcāla races.

the original H (as Kirfel, p. xlii, means; cf. § 10), or B has shortened the original text preserved in H-Bḍ-Vā (?, cf. § 7).

The following passage may be understood in the same way. In Mbh, i, 70, 22, six sons of Purūravas are recorded (= first version of this point). In H (= second version) there are seven sons, and the pâda, Mbh, 22*a*, has been extended to three pādas (Kirfel, 48*abc*). Kirfel, 48*d* = Mbh, 22*b*; Kirfel, 49*cd* = Mbh, 22*cd*, Śatāyu occurring in the Northern recension of the Mbh. H has added the line Kirfel, 49*ab*, containing the names of two more sons, but on the other hand the name of Dhīmān (Mbh) is not meant as a name but only as an adjective in Kirfel, 48*d*. Thereafter B (= third version) has only altered Kirfel, 48*c*, and the name of Śatāyu (into Bahvāyu). From B the fourth version of Bḍ-Vā has accepted the new form of 48*c*, has modified 48*a* (*tasya purā*), has contracted 49*ab* into a single pāda, has omitted 49*c* (which must be an old one according to Mbh), and in this way has again reached the old number of six sons. But this is no reason to believe that Bḍ-Vā are more similar to Mbh than H and B are, since only H and B have preserved the old line 49*c* (cf. against note [1], p. 251). Bḍ-Vā agree with the prose version of Viṣṇupurāṇa, iv, 7, 1. The fifth version is H, 26, 10 sq., a duplicate of H, 27, 1 sq. It took the reading of 48*a* from Bḍ-Vā, but here, too, it has seven sons and the reading of 48*c* as before. In connection with this duplicate the śloka H, 26, 48*cd*–49*ab*, has been repeated as H, 26, 9, but 26, 48*ab* and 49*cd* have not been repeated. Both these lines have been contracted into the one śloka B, 10, 10, and must be regarded as old ones.

H has borrowed this reading of 48*a* from Bḍ-Vā in the same way as it borrowed from them the story of Urvaśī and the preceding chapter on Soma (H, 25, 1 sqq. = Kirfel, 349 sqq.). This chapter on Soma superseded the older and shorter version of the original H, nowadays preserved only in B. For that reason the readings of B are older than those of Bḍ-Vā-H (e.g. Kirfel, 349, 5, v.r. 1). H itself has only

very few new readings compared with B and Bḍ-Vā (e.g. Kirfel, 353, 44, v.r. 2). And after the Urvaśī episode there is again the old text in H as it is preserved in B.[1]

From Amāvasu, son of Purūravas, Satyavatī descended after some generations. Her son (from Ṛcīka, son of Kāvya) was Jamadagni, father of Rāma (Kirfel, 360–5), so important in the Mbh (cf. Sukthankar, l.l.), and in the epic in a previous passage descended from his paternal ancestor Bhṛgu (Mbh, i, 60, 40–8).

From Āyu, the other son of Purūravas, descended Nahuṣa, for whose story (Mbh, i, 70, 24–7), the similar episode of Raji is substituted in H-B (Kirfel, 379 sq.).[2] Nahuṣa was followed by Yayāti, whose story is told twice in the Mbh, in a shorter version in i, 70, 29–46, and in a longer form in i, 71–80 (cf. § 14), followed by some moral chapters (i, 81–8). Instead of the last-mentioned digression, H and B have another episode (Kirfel, 385 sq.) of how Indra gave his divine chariot to Yayāti, inherited later by Jarāsandha (cf. Mbh, ii, 14).

[1] The same facts might also be arranged in another less probable line of development thus: H may have accepted the duplicate (26, 10 sqq., with the reading of Kirfel, 48a and 26, 9) not from Bḍ-Vā, but from an unknown source. Just the same may have occurred with regard to the stories of Urvaśī and Soma. Then these versions must be old ones and B must have shortened the text.

[2] In this place H-Bḍ-Vā insert six ślokas (Kirfel, 381, 96–101) missing in B (cf. § 10) and praising the greatness of the Brahmins and Bṛhaspati. In the same way the episode of Dhanvantari (Kirfel, 372, 8–22) and of the cursing of Benares (Kirfel, 372, 30–63) may be additions of H-Bḍ-Vā. Kirfel has arranged the ślokas in the line of Bḍ-Vā, but it is better to follow H.

(To be continued)

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE REIGN OF AḤMAD IBN SA'ĪD, IMAM OF OMAN

In spite of the importance of Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd, the founder of the Āl Bū Sa'īd dynasties still ruling at Muscat and at Zanzibar, there is considerable confusion among historians as to the dates of his accession and of his death. He is stated by Badger to have been elected Imam in 1741, by Guillain in 1744, and by Palgrave in 1759. According to Captain Robert Taylor he died in 1771,[1] according to Badger in 1775, according to Palgrave about 1780, and according to Colonel Miles in 1783, while Professor Coupland says that he was succeeded by Sulṭān ibn Aḥmad in 1792.[2] His reign is most often said to have lasted from 1741 to 1775. This is certainly wrong, and I think it can be shown that his election probably occurred in 1749 and that he died in 1783.

The only readily accessible account of the history of Oman in the eighteenth century is G. P. Badger's translation of the chronicle of Salīl ibn Razīq [3] and this is the original authority for the dates 1741 and 1775, which Badger accepted without question. Ibn Razīq, however, does not say that Aḥmad was elected in 1741, but only that the transfer of power to the Āl Bū Sa'īd took place in A.H. 1154, i.e. 1741–2. Moreover, Badger remarks in his preface that the transcriber of the manuscript he used was very careless about dates. There is, therefore, no reason to believe that Aḥmad became Imam as early as 1741 if there is evidence to the contrary.

[1] *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, New Series, vol. 24, p. 8.

[2] R. Coupland, *East Africa and its Invaders*, p. 89. Aḥmad was succeeded by his son Sa'īd.

[3] So far as I know the Arabic text has not been published. The manuscript was presented by the Sayyid Thuwaini to Badger, and after his death was given by his widow to Cambridge University Library where it is now.

There appears to be no doubt as to the sequence of events leading to his election. The Imam Saif ibn Sulṭān appealed to Nādir Shāh for help against Sulṭān ibn Murshid who had been elected in opposition to him. The Persian army sent in answer to Saif's request recaptured Muscat but failed to take Sohar, which was defended by Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd. After the deaths of Saif and of Sulṭān, Aḥmad came to terms with the besiegers, recovered Muscat, and was later proclaimed Imam. He afterwards marched against his only remaining rival for the throne, Ibn Ḥimyar, who was defeated and killed. Now, Ibn Razīq says that Sulṭān ibn Murshid revolted in 1151, i.e. 1738–9, but Dr. Lockhart's references to the East India Company's records in his biography of Nādir Shāh show that this cannot be true and he gives 1742 as the correct date. This is given also by Colonel Miles and by Guillain,[1] on the authority of the French traveller, Jean Otter, and of a manuscript chronicle by Abū Sulaimān Muḥammad ibn Amīr ibn Rashīd which Guillain saw at Zanzibar and which says that the election of Sulṭān was made on the 10th Dhu'l Ḥijja, 1154. This is confirmed by an anonymous manuscript history of Oman in the British Museum which says that it took place on "the night of the Pilgrimage" in that year.[2] According to the same work the death of Sulṭān occurred on the 27th Rabī' II, 1156, i.e. 1743.[3] Thus Aḥmad can hardly have become Imam before 1744. Dr. Lockhart mentions this as the date of his election and refers to Kersten and Guillain as authorities for it. Kersten, however, seems to have taken it from Guillain, and Guillain merely says: "L'élection d'Ahhmed dut avoir lieu à la fin de 1744."[4] While his account proves that it cannot well have been earlier than this, he brings no evidence to show that it was not later. The British

[1] *Documents sur l'histoire, la geographie et le commerce de l'Afrique Orientale*, pt. 1, p. 535.

[2] B.M. MSS. Add. 23, 343, fol. 154 recto.

[3] v. fol. 159 verso.

[4] Guillain, op. cit., pt. 1, p. 542.

Museum manuscript says that it was on the night of the 23rd Jumādā II, 1162, i.e. 1749, and there is no reason why this should not be correct. The writer is in general more accurate than Ibn Razīq, and presumably because of its importance the copyist has written this date in full and not merely given it in figures as is his usual practice. It agrees with Niebuhr's observation that in 1765 Aḥmad had been reigning for sixteen years, while Palgrave's date, 1759, may easily have been a mistake for 1749. Both Salīl ibn Razīq and the anonymous chronicler say that the final defeat of Ibn Ḥimyar took place after the election, and Colonel Miles considers that the battle was fought in the latter part of 1749. It is likely that the formal proclamation of Aḥmad would be followed almost at once by a campaign against his sole competitor.

The only objection that can be brought against this date is that it supposes a delay of several years between the fall of Muscat and the election, but the title of Imam was not one to be adopted rashly by a member of an uninfluential, mercantile family. Colonel Miles says of one of Aḥmad's predecessors: "The conduct of Yaarab in thus exalting himself to the Imamate, instead of raising his fortunes, served on the contrary to hasten his downfall, and caused the deepest offence to the people."[1] Yet Ya'rab was related to the reigning dynasty, had enjoyed supreme power in Oman for over a year, and had been formally absolved from the guilt of rebellion by a Qāḍī. A few years later, in similar circumstances, Muḥammad ibn Nāṣir thought it necessary to convene an assembly and announce his intention of resigning the regency and retiring into private life. Again, during the greater part of the life of Aḥmad's son and successor, the Imam Sa'īd, the real power was in the hands of others, but none of them ever used the title of Imam and of all his successors only 'Azzān ibn Qais has done so. In 1744 the

[1] S. B. Miles, *The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf*, vol. i, p. 240.

interior of Oman had submitted to Ibn Ḥimyar and there was still a Persian garrison at Julfar in 1748.[1] Aḥmad must have been anxious to do nothing that would offend the religious susceptibilities of his supporters.

There is less confusion about the date of Aḥmad's death, and most modern historians have given it either as 1775 or as 1783. Ibn Razīq says that he died in Dhu'l Qa'da, 1188, i.e. 1775.[2] Colonel Miles has, however, published a translation of the inscription on his tombstone, where he is said to have died on the 19th Muḥarram, 1198, i.e. 1783. There can be no doubt as to which is the more reliable. Mr. Said Ruete accepts this date and it is confirmed by the anonymous history in the British Museum already cited.[3]

C. F. BECKINGHAM.

[1] L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, p. 219.

[2] *Vide* p. 188 of Badger's translation. C.U.L. MSS. Add. 2892, fol. 173 recto.

[3] B.M. MSS. Add. 23, 343, fol. 171 recto.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

CATALOGUE OF THE MINGANA COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE WOODBROOKE SETTLEMENT, SELLY OAK, BIRMINGHAM. Vol. III. Additional Christian Arabic and Syriac Manuscripts, by A. Mingana. 10 × 12½, pp. xxiv + 138. Cambridge (Heffer), 1939.

Scholars will be grateful for the story of Alphonse Mingana's eventful life which Professor Margoliouth and Mr. Woledge have contributed to this volume.

It is claimed by the author (and few would venture to question his judgment) that this collection contains one or more of the oldest MSS. in Christian Arabic. Some of the early fifth- and sixth-century fragments of the Peshitta ought to be collated with the printed text, as they may well contain readings of interest. Among the most interesting fragments are the earliest known Arabic version of the *Acta Pilati* and two leaves of a hitherto unknown form of the text in Syriac. Unhappily many of the most important MSS. are represented by one or two pages.

Dr. Mingana's self-sacrificing labours were interrupted by his severe illness, and the important work of studying the writings which underlie the many palimpsests remains to be done by those who carry on the Woodbrooke studies. The catalogue as it stands has been thoroughly indexed and will remain of first importance in the study of Christian, Arabic, and Syriac palæography, owing to Dr. Mingana's careful work, apart from its obvious value as a catalogue of some of the most ancient MSS. of the Eastern Church.

B. 457. ALFRED GUILLAUME.

IGHĀTHATU L-UMMATI BIKASHFI L-GHUMMATI. By AL-MAQRĪZĪ. Ed. by M. M. ZIYĀDA and J. M. AL-SHAYYĀL. pp. 12 + 92, pl. 1. Cairo: Committee for Translation and Publication, 1940.

The name of Professor Ziyāda is a guarantee of good work, and this little book deserved publication. It professes to be the history of famines in Egypt but it has also much information on prices and money. Unfortunately it never gives normal prices. The author makes his position clear in a parable: it is not nice to be kept awake by fleas but the annoyance makes the sufferer forget the agony of tossing through a sleepless night of fever. The Egypt of his day might be in a bad way, but things had been worse. There are tit-bits of information. Social discontents made some of the inhabitants invite the Fāṭimids to invade Egypt. In the middle of the fourth century the revenue was paid in two instalments, in Rajab and Muḥarram. In Baghdad bread was used as small change. In Cairo a *mithqāl* of gold was worth 150 dirhams in small change, but in Alexandria it was worth 300, suggesting money problems in Syria when it was part of the Turkish empire. Al-Maqrīzī states that the learned classes with the witnesses, some of the militia, small land-owners, and pensioners were dead (metaphorically speaking), or wished to die because of the distress in which they lived. If one of them got a hundred dirhams, he received for it small change or two-thirds of a *mithqāl*, and could buy with it what he had formerly bought for twenty silver dirhams; so they were reduced to poverty. The editors rightly claim that historians are more human in their pamphlets than in their tomes.

B. 593. A. S. TRITTON.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CANAANITE DIALECTS. An Investigation in Linguistic History. By ZELLIG S. HARRIS. American Oriental Series, vol. 16. 10 × 6¾, pp. x + 108, and 2 charts. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1939.

In research into Canaanite philology, to which the discovery of the Ras Shamra tablets has given a fresh impetus in the last decade, America leads the world, and in a group which includes the names of Albright, Ginsberg, Goetze, Gordon, and Montgomery, Dr. Harris holds a high place. In the same series in which his well-known *Grammar of the Phœnician Language* (1936) appeared, he now presents a comprehensive survey of the linguistic features and evolution of the dialects of the surviving Canaanite documents.

His method is strictly philological, applying to those documents the general principles of the investigation of language enunciated by his master, Edward Sapir, to whose name the book is appropriately dedicated. His purpose is to mark the phonemic, phonetic, morphological, syntactical and lexical changes characteristic of groups within the Canaanite family, to date and localize them, and thence to elucidate the processes by which the several dialects evolved. The contribution of the book is twofold. For the student of language as such, the most important chapters are the two last, in which the nature of the processes is examined and the resultant dialects are characterized. To the Semitist chapter 5 offers as complete a list as the nature of the evidence permits of some sixty-four linguistic changes occurring in the Canaanite group. With analogous and corresponding developments in other Semitic groups the author does not concern himself. The samples presented in evidence of specific developments are for the most part cogent and unambiguous; where they are not, the author draws attention to the uncertainty, e.g. *d p ṭ d*, p. 36, *k š t h*, p. 38. But the paucity of material is such that statements as to time and place of changes have often a specious precision and simplicity. Complete isoglosses

are impossible, and were more evidence available the picture would probably be more complicated. In one instance, dealt with elsewhere in this journal, the facts are simpler than Harris suggests; cf. p. 97, n. 6.

Misprints are few; the following might occasion trouble: p. 8, n. 9 *read JPOS* 14 (1934), 113; p. 43, l. 13 *read* ['iyāti]; p. 55, l. 1 *read* 171–2); p. 59, l. 12 *read* change; in. Other minor criticisms—the extreme economy of words, the sparing use of references, the absence of a reference list of the linguistic changes in chapter 5, which might usefully have appeared either in the table of contents or opposite Chart 2—detract but little from the merits of an admirable work.

B. 534. A. M. HONEYMAN.

THE RISE OF THE NORTH ARABIC SCRIPT AND ITS ḲUR'ĀNIC DEVELOPMENT. With a full description of the Ḳur'ān manuscripts in the Oriental Institute. By NABIA ABBOTT. pp. xxii + 103, pls. 33, figs. 73. University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

The history of the Arabic script deserves a book to itself, and should not be combined with descriptions of modern Ḳur'āns. The subject is full of surprises. The south Arabian alphabet, which gave rise to several alphabets in Central Arabia, had no influence on Arabic. Syriac, the ecclesiastical language of many Arab Christians, has no claim to be its parent; indeed Jacobite Syriac is due to Arabic influence. The only alphabet, which can be considered as the source of the Arabic, is the Nabataean. It is agreed that this script was used by people who spoke Arabic or something like it. A history of the Arabic alphabet should give reproductions of those inscriptions which show the progress from pure Aramaic written in the earlier forms of the Nabataean script to a hybrid language in a script hardly distinguishable from Arabic. This could have been done here by omitting the

reproductions of modern Ḳur'āns which have no scientific and little artistic interest. The plate of alphabets, an enlargement of that in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, is good but does not take the place of the inscriptions. Facsimiles of inscriptions should always be accompanied by a transliteration; this has not been done for the few reproduced. At this date it is not necessary to announce as a discovery that the cursive script is as old as the Kufic. There are some wild statements in this book; the people of Palmyra may have been Arabs but they did not write Arabic in Palmyrene characters. Muslim traditions contradict the epigraphic evidence and point to Mesopotamia as the first home of Arabic writing; Nabataean is found only in Syria and the west. These traditions bring together persons who could not have been contemporaries; indeed the chapter on the Muslim evidence is a string of hypotheses, each used as the base of the next, and it can be ignored. The use of the Paikuli inscription to forge a link between the East and the West is ingenious but highly speculative. The 'Amr of the inscription may have been a descendant of the Abgars of Edessa; he may have been king of Hira but, even so, the use of the Nabataean script for one of his family at En-Namāra is not explained.

B. 449. A. S. TRITTON.

Far East

A KOREAN GRAMMAR. By G. J. RAMSTEDT. Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne, LXXXII. 10 × 6½, pp. iv + 200. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1939.

In comparison with previous Korean grammars this marks great progress. The author's knowledge of other agglutinative languages has shown him how to analyse Korean idiom. He learned the language from educated Koreans living in Tokyo, and he knows the older linguistic literature very well. But it seems a pity that he has not heard about the endeavours

of the Čosen Ežen Guhö (Society for the Investigation of the Korean Language), which has sought to explain the language by means of its own principles,[1] and has published a grammar, with much other literature. Had he known of those publications, I am sure Professor Ramstedt would have altered several passages of his grammar, although, in at least one instance, he has succeeded in surpassing them, namely, in the etymological explanation of the particles.

The first chapter (pp. 3–31 = §§ 1–75) deals with "Phonetics", script, and pronunciation. The statements of §§ 9–11 may be misunderstood, as the so-called double consonants are nothing else but mediæ, strictly corresponding to the French or English g-, d-, b-sounds, whilst the Korean p-, t-, k-, č-sounds are tenues completely unaspirated, and unlike the English or German p, t, k which are aspirated.

Chapter II (pp. 32–149 = §§ 76–282) contains the "Morphology": (1) the noun (pp. 34–60 = §§ 80–114), including pronouns and numerals, and (2) the verb (pp. 60–149 = §§ 115–282), including participles and adjectives (which the author takes for the participle of a "qualitative verb").

The explanation of the noun is excellent; but in § 88 the author brings in "irregularities in case-formations", although he knows good reasons for them. It would have been better not to have spoken about irregularities, but to state the simple phonetic rule [2] responsible for apparent irregularities.

In § 81 he says that the language "has no adjectives at all", basing his statement upon examples like *sä čip* = "a new house" and *Čosen čip* = "a Korean house". *Čosen* is not an adjective, the phrase meaning "a Korea house" (s. § 91); *sä*, on the contrary, *is* an adjective.

The grammar of the Čosen Ežen Guhö states that there are two different kinds of words corresponding to the adjectives of other languages: real adjectives and adsubstantives.

[1] Cf. Figulla, *Prolegomena*, etc. (*Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, Abt. I, vol. 38, 1935).

[2] Cf. Figulla, ibid., p. 103, 2nd par.

What they call adjectives and Professor Ramstedt deals with under the head of "participles of qualitative verbs" (§ 214), are attributive words (including, in fact, also verbal participles), which have to take the "ending" -(*ị*)*n*; and what they call adsubstantives, are other attributive words like (1) demonstrative pronouns (*i saram* = "this man", *kị saram* = "that man"), (2) numerals, placed before the noun (*han* = "one", *mo-tịn* = "all", *jẹ-rẹ* = "many"), (3) interrogatives like *ẹ-nị*, *mu-sịn* = "what?", and (4) attributives like *sä* = "new", *yö* = "alone: single", *ol* = "early", *su* = "male", *am* = "female" (and these are nearly all which exist).

In § 87 the author treats the suffixes *-i* and *-ga*, which he hesitates to call affixes of the nominative (see also § 296), and seems to identify with the *-i* affix of § 90 (*horaŋ-i* = "tiger"). But the latter is to be connected with the *-i* mentioned in § 103, § 225, No. 19, and § 296, end.

The Koreans distinguish three particles *i*: one is an adsubstantive, i.e. a kind of adjective (or attributive) prefixed to its noun without "ending" (see above), meaning "this" (i *saram* = "this man"); the second is the suffix of the nominative, or subjective (*saram*-i = "the man"); and the third is a pronominal affix giving to words which are not nouns the function of nouns (s. § 103 *horaŋ-i* with the nom. *horaŋ-i-ga* = "the tiger", or § 296 *sẹ-i* = "the three"; or p. 116, no. 19 *kanan* (part.) = "going", *kanan-i* = "he who goes", nom. *kanan-i-ga*).[1]

In § 129, "compound tenses," the author states that all these compound forms are joined with the verb *itta* = "to be". But this is doubtful; the Koreans assert that in their language what we call a verbal form consists of two separate parts: the predicative conception (verbal or adjectival) and the conclusive word which is not the same as the verb *to be*.

[1] It cannot be denied that there is an affinity between these three particles.

Four rather short chapters follow dealing with "postpositions and adverbs" (ch. iii, pp. 150–164 = §§ 283–292), "uninflected words" (ch. iv, pp. 165–173 = §§ 293–311), "word-formation" (ch. v, pp. 174–183 = §§ 312–332), and "structure of the sentence" (ch. vi, pp. 184–8 = §§ 333–343).

An appendix (pp. 189–199) presents some texts in transliteration, viz. five songs and three passages from the Bible.

B. 520. H. H. FIGULLA.

India

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS AT ALLAHABAD, 1938. 10 × 7½, pp. lx + 623 + 98. Allahabad, 1939.

The size of this volume is evidence of the growth of Indian interest in historical studies; only three of the representatives of governments in India, States, universities, colleges, and learned societies bear European names. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, in his introduction, suggests that the day of learned societies is now past and that university publications are superseding their journals, though he excepts the work of the *Bharat Itihas Mandal* for the history of Maharashtra.

Even in October, 1938, the shadow of war led the plenary session of the Congress to pass a resolution endorsing the Peace Pact inaugurated by Dr. Nicholas Roerich for the neutrality and preservation of historic monuments, museums, and cultural institutions. Other resolutions pressed for (*a*) the establishment of record offices in provinces and States with facilities for study; (*b*) an amendment of the copyright law to secure the preservation of copies of books, etc., published in India, at Delhi and at provincial capitals; and (*c*) the collection of photographs or typescripts of records relating to India in England, France, Holland, and Portugal, to be placed in the Imperial Library at Delhi and at provincial capitals. A strong committee was appointed to draft a

"scheme for a scientific and comprehensive 'History of India'", which has since been circulated.

It is impossible to discuss all the papers in a limited space. The most novel contributions seem to relate to the modern sections, and this supports the plea by Dr. Bal Krishna that Indian students should pay more attention to unpublished material in official records.

An exhibition of historical documents, coins, images, etc., organized in connection with the Congress, is described in an appendix with eighteen plates.

B. 512. R. BURN.

SETTLEMENTS IN THE LOWER INDUS BASIN (SIND). By M. B. PITHAWALLA. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 87 + 14. Karachi, 1939. Rs. 5.

IDENTIFICATION AND DESCRIPTION OF SOME OLD SITES IN SIND. By M. B. PITHAWALLA. Journal of Sind Historical Society, Vol. III, No. 4. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. 28 + 8. Karachi, 1938. Rs. 2.

Mr. Pithawalla here continues his useful series of essays upon the physical, geographical, and ethnic features of Sind. Partly because most of the contents have been reprinted from journals the pagination is irregular and even the numbering of the footnotes has been deranged, if the reviewer can judge by the ascription to him of a statement which he never made and believes to be incorrect. Many authorities are mentioned, with great industry, but without any comparative evaluation; as, for example, an anonymous writer in a weekly illustrated paper is quoted alongside of established names. But the little books have a real value owing to the care with which the course of old rivers is traced, and the sites of old cities suggested. If the conclusion must often be indefinite, all the evidence is at least given. Few Provinces have experienced such changes owing to the vagaries of the

rivers on which the population depended. Two points emerge. Further exploration is needed of the still existing but disappearing sites, to trace more fully the history of the country. Secondly the system of canals and river training now in force will afford stability for the cultivator greater than he has ever enjoyed, and thus affords for a time at least space, rarely to be found in India, for a largely increased population. The books should therefore serve a very useful purpose.

B. 537, 539. P. R. CADELL.

PRE-BUDDHIST INDIA: A POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF ANCIENT INDIA BASED MAINLY ON THE JĀTAKA STORIES. By RATILAL N. MEHTA. 10 × 7, pp. xxvi + 461, fig. 1, map 1. Bombay: Examiner Press, 1939. Rs. 15.

This is a "revised" and much expanded University thesis. The sub-title hints at its manifold range. I have only one general comment. The author pleads that in the 551 Jātaka stories, compiled in one thesaurus in the sixth century A.D., we have the work of men (almost certainly monks) who "had focussed their attention on the days before the birth of the Buddha",[1] and so had "taken care to see that the stories (the compiler) handled were not out of tune with those pre-Buddhistic conditions of society as he had come to know them through tradition and literature". But in the sixteenth century or thereabouts, European painters, albeit their "eyes were fixed" on the Palestine of the first century A.D., depicted men and scenes such as they saw around them. So, too, with a tradition unwritten for centuries and a culture wherein archæology had no place, the Buddhist compiler would have no certain "picture" of anything pre-Buddhist. The writer quotes my husband often and with appreciation, but he has overlooked one judgment of his:

[1] pp. viii, xxiv.

that the only way in which any such record can be considered authentic is to see in it evidence of beliefs *held at the date at which it was composed.*[1]

In depicting the folk of India "engrossed in their daily life", the Jātakas, so far as they are "lively and realistic", show us better the India the monk-compiler saw on his daily almsround than the India of pre-Asokan days.

B. 549. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

A HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By SURENDRANATH DASGUPTA. Vols. I, III. Vol. I, pp. xvi + 528, 1922 (repr. 1932), £1 11*s.* 6*d.* Vol. III, pp. xiii + 614, 1940, £1 15*s.* Cambridge: The University Press.

The first volume of this work is well known as the most scholarly of its kind in English, and as it includes the Upanishads, Buddhism, Jainism, and the six orthodox systems it covers most of what the ordinary Sanskrit student understands by Indian philosophy. But the succeeding volumes show what an inadequate view of the subject this would be. Perhaps the outstanding feature of the work is indicated by the author's opening remarks. He shows how it may be impossible even for one with a good knowledge of Sanskrit literature to understand much of the philosophical treatises owing not only to the use of technical terms but also to the fact that the same terms are used differently in different systems. Hence he has taken the right course in going straight to the texts and in dealing with the actual terms of the expounders. His second volume (reviewed in this *Journal* in 1934) dealt with developments in the school of Śankara and subordinate doctrines. The third volume carries on the main streams of thought in the Vedantic Schools.

The chief limitation on the usefulness of the work is that it takes no account of the work done by French and German

[1] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii, 77.

scholarship. We still need someone who can co-ordinate the results of eastern and western investigators. This qualification scarcely applies to the third volume, as it is based mainly on original unpublished sources. It deals with the Vedantic schools in opposition to Śankara. One cause of the opposition was the religious reaction, which found expression in various forms of theism, but the chief strictly philosophical school is that of Rāmānuja and its branches, which dealt seriously with the problem of the one and the many in opposition to the purely monistic solution of Śankara. The author promises two more volumes, and there is no doubt that they will be required in order to survey the interwoven strands of religion and philosophy.

B. 564, 568. E. J. THOMAS.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. By A. H. IMLAH. 9 × 6, pp. xii + 295. Harvard University Press, 1939.

We have had to wait nearly a hundred years since Ellenborough's governor-generalship of India for an adequate biography of a politician and administrator of unusual ability and energy. Until the publication, in 1926, of Law's *India under Ellenborough*, partisan accounts and pamphlets held the field. As in the case of Warren Hastings the Whig bias to be found in Macaulay's calumnies had been handed down to later generations. It was also unfortunate for Ellenborough's reputation that the history of the First Afghan War, 1839–1842, was written by Sir John Kaye, " the spokesman of Lord Ellenborough's bitter opponents and of his immediate superiors, the Directors of the East India Company."

Professor Imlah has made use of the Ellenborough and Colchester papers in the Public Record Office, but appears to have neglected the voluminous manuscripts on Lord

Auckland's policy to be found in the India Office. Since the Afghan problem was the most important task confronting Ellenborough on his arrival in India and, when it is remembered that the blue books relating to Afghanistan were shamelessly garbled, this omission is to be regretted. When dealing with Ellenborough's condemnation of Canning's order of confiscation in Oudh, the author does not give Canning's defence which was accepted later by the British Government. It is absurd to suppose that Canning had any idea of abolishing landlords in Oudh. In fact, the confiscation made possible the establishment of a clear title and thus strengthened the position of Oudh *zamindars* and *taluqdars*. Neither does the author quite do justice to Canning's fight against a policy of terror which was urged both in England and in India towards the end of the Mutiny.

(556.) C. COLLIN DAVIES.

THE RĀMACARITAM OF SANDHYĀKARANANDIN. Edited with Sanskrit commentaries and English translation by R. C. MAJUMDAR, R. G. BASAK, and PANDIT N. G. BANERJI. "Savitārāya-smṛti-saṁrakṣaṇagranthamālā. $10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxxv + 170. Rajshahi: Curator, Varendra Research Museum, n.d. [1939 ?].

The *Rāmacarita* has only been available in an edition which failed to establish a satisfactory text and frequently went astray in the inferences drawn from the author's historical statements; we have therefore every reason to be grateful to the three Bengali scholars, who have collaborated to produce as sound a version of this important text as can be expected and have interpreted it with caution and skill. The work is a typical example of misplaced ingenuity, telling in verses, which have to be understood in two senses, the stories of Rāma and of the Pāla king, Rāmapala. Only a single MS., and that often defective, is available, and loss of the old

commentary for over half the poem is unfortunate, for without its help satisfactory readings of many verses cannot be established and the style of the work is by reason of its plan so far-fetched that in default of commentarial assistance the point of many obscure allusions and often even the general sense remain uncertain. Inevitably then many passages still remain open to discussion, despite the editors' manful efforts at elucidation, and I would make two small contributions. In the commentary on ii, 24, I see no reason for conjecturing *ayācitadānam* for the MS.'s *apacitadānam*, which I take to mean "gift of honour"; and in the defective first line of iii, 42, I would suggest the palæographically obvious *adikṣata* for the editors' conjecture *adiṣata*, as this brings the first half into metrical order.

It is, however, the historical data that give the *Rāmacarita* its value, not its literary quality, in which to my taste it is lacking; and here the editors have dispelled a host of misconceptions, which had almost reached the rank of accepted facts: unless the missing part of the commentary is recovered, it will probably be hard to extract much more from the text than they have done. But I do not agree that historians have the right to "reconstrue" the statements of the text "by supplying facts from [their] own imagination" (p. xiii). Despite this ominous remark the editors have fortunately adopted this dangerous procedure to a very small extent; but I would protest that no real advance will be made in the study of pre-Muhammadan Indian history till scholars devote their efforts far more to establishing what facts are known with certainty and far less to imaginative reconstructions, which too often have no basis in fact or even in probability.

B. 566. E. H. JOHNSTON.

PRAKAṬĀRTHAVIVARAṆAM. A Commentary on the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya of Sri Sankara, Vol. II. Edited by T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., PH.D. Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 9. 10 × 7, pp. lxxx + 610 (pp. 581–1190). Madras: University of Madras, 1939. Rs. 7.

When the first volume was published [1] the editor intended to add a historical introduction to the second volume, giving details of the date of Śankara and information about other commentaries on his *Brahma-sūtra-bhāṣya*. But his plan has now expanded, and a third volume will be required. The present volume completes the text, which includes the text of the sūtras, Śankara's bhāṣya, and the commentary thereon, the *Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa*, the authorship of which still remains unknown. As one of the earliest commentaries on Śankara it holds an important place. A useful analysis of the whole in English is given, which includes a survey of the contents both of the bhāṣya and the commentary. The whole is well produced, and besides the usual indexes has a list of passages quoted with some information about the authors.

B. 574. E. J. THOMAS.

THE DEBATES COMMENTARY. Translation of the Kathāvatthu Commentary. Translated for the first time by BIMALA CHURN LAW, PH.D., M.A., B.L. Pali Text Society's Translation Series. Oxford University Press, 1940.

All the shorter books of the Pali Canon are now translated, or about to go to press. There remained only the five Abhidhamma Commentaries grouped canonically as Pañca-pakaraṇ'-aṭṭhakathā, and traditionally ascribed to Buddhaghosa. And of these only one, the present work, was really worth being translated, and even then not the whole of its contents. But from volumes of "Selections from" my husband and I have ever kept aloof. A "selection" is in safe perspective

[1] See *JRAS.*, 1937, p. 147.

only when it is from a field the whole contents whereof are as accessible as the selection will be. Otherwise no religious literature can safely be estimated by what the personal factor of the editor has picked out.

Years ago my husband entitled his translation of the first book of canonical Suttas *Dialogues of the Buddha*, because he held these merited, in their portrait of the Founder of "Buddhism", a place in world-literature not less interesting than the portrait of Socrates in the *Dialogues of Plato*. This is true so long as we remember that, in the one it is *Plato's* Socratic Dialogues that we get, and, in the other, the Gotamic Dialogues of the *monk-editors* (and further removed in time from their source). Turning to these "Debates" of the Patna Conference in Asoka's day, they might with some justification be termed an "Apologia" for the Buddha: in the noble defence by Socrates we have the Platonic version in prose, probably far more elegant than Socrates would have used, just as, in the Pali Debates of the only important part, the first section, we have the monk-editors' conception of what the arguments of the Apologists were worth.

So far only is there a parallel. In the Apologia of Socrates the editor shows a lofty sympathy with what the arraigned martyr for truth held most worth while. In the Patna Debates the editors will have had left on their hands the word-memory and probably an *uddesa* or précis (painfully stippled on thin metal plates) of the line of argument taken by the monks come from Vesālī to protest, that their Founder's teaching had not been the doctrine, since cropped up, of the non-reality of the Man, as no more than either just body and mind, but a teaching of the very reality of the Man as More. And these apologists are, editorially at least, shown up as very weak debaters. The Patna opponents, holding that non-reality view, were more likely to be better treated by editors who thought as they did. Yet just once or twice the apologists are left unrefuted.

There is, I believe, no real parallel to this first section, nay,

to the Collection of Debates-cum-exegesis in any world-scripture. None the less the Commentary in the main is tedious, when it might, in more capable hands, have been of great interest. Debating had got into a new Procrustean bed of logical formula, wherein our old friend "distribution of the middle term" was not yet understood. Hence the trapping of the opener is made, in appearance, an easy job. Or maybe third century culture B.C. had shifted from Vesālī, once an advanced centre, to the new metropolis of Patna, and the Patna Apologists were not logically expert. All such problems only enhance the debt of students of the history of Buddhism and Indian culture to Dr. Law's talents and generosity.

B. 611 C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

O NEJSTARŠÍM STĚHOVÁNÍ NÁRODŮ A O PROBLÉMU CIVILISACE PROTO-INDICKÉ. Přednáška.[1] By BEDŘICH HROZNÝ. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 28, pls. 20. Praha: Rektorát University Karlovy v Praze (Tiskárna Protektorátu Čechy a Morava v Praze), 1939.

In these 28 pages Professor Dr. B. Hrozný, now Rector of the Charles-University of Prague, publishes a lecture on his tentative decipherment of the famous proto-Indian inscriptions.

He is a scholar well known in the field of Hittite hieroglyphics, so that it is surprising he does not make better use of his long experience in the art of decipherment of an unknown language and script. It is extremely hazardous to found hypotheses only upon imagination. He begins with a brief summary of the "history" of the oldest migrations of nations, especially of the "migration" of the "geographical" name *Kuš-Kaš-Kiš*. The basis for his "decipherment" is (op. cit.,

[1] Also translated into German, *Die älteste Völkerwanderung und die proto-indische Zivilisation*, ein Versuch, die Proto-Indischen Inschriften von Mohendscho-Daro zu entziffern. "Monografie Archivu Orientálního. Studies, Texts, and Translations, issued by the Oriental Institute, Prague. Edited by J. Rypka. Vol. vii." $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 24, pls. 20. Prag. Orientalisches Institut, 1939.

p. 15) a proto-Indian seal found in Ur and containing an inscription of three cuneiform signs. These he reads as *SAG Ku-ši*, and translates: "Chieftain (or head, or prince) of the land *Ku-ši*." "If this reading and interpretation is right," he says, "we have to do with a seal of the prince of the Indus territory." Then he finds among the proto-Indian inscriptions a group of signs "which may represent" the land *Ku-ši*: there are five signs, each of them "may represent" either a determinative or a syllable. And so, continuing with all his "it seems", "it may be", "it is possible", "it is probable", he arrives at the "decipherment" of the proto-Indian script.

If this decipherment is right, the proto-Indian is the strangest script ever seen. It is known that it contains about 300 signs. Now Hrozný gives (pp. 19–22) a list of "the most important phonetic signs"; there are nearly 110 (some are variants of others). Of these, 10 represent the sound *i*, 13 the sound *ja*, 5 *ku*, 45 (!!) *si* (or *se*, *sa*, *s*), 9 *ta*, 4 the sound *u* (86 out of less than 110 signs for only 6 sounds !), etc. The resemblances which he traces between the proto-Indian signs and the Hittite hieroglyphics are most unconvincing.

Thus he easily arrives at this hypothesis: "On the whole it may be said that the proto-Indian script is partly derived from the "Hittite" hieroglyphics" (p. 22), although he himself indicates many differences between the two scripts. It is very difficult to understand how the proto-Indian script, from the beginning of the third millennium B.C., could be derived from the Hittite hieroglyphics of the second half of the second millennium B.C. So he proposes, without further evidence, an additional impossible hypothesis: the Hittite hieroglyphics may be assigned to the beginning of the third millennium B.C. (!): v. p. 26. These suppositions lead him to the hazardous conclusions that (*a*) about the end of the fourth millennium B.C. there appeared in Transcaucasia, North Syria, and East Anatolia, the first Indo-European conquerors, speaking a language of the *centum*-group, who

invented the so-called "Hittite" hieroglyphics, and (b) a section of that people parted from it in its early stages and conquered North-West India. In this way he hopes to have solved definitively the problem of the proto-Indian culture (p. 28). If there is no room for doubt about the extent of the author's erudition, the same cannot be said about the soundness of his judgment.

B. 552. D. DIRINGER.

BRUCHSTÜCKE DES ĀṬĀNĀṬIKASŪTRA AUS DEN ZENTRALASIATISCHEN SANSKRITKANON DER BUDDHISTEN. Herausg. von HELMUTH HOFFMANN. Königlich Preussische Turfan-Expeditionen: Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, Heft V. 11½ × 8, pp. 105, pl. 2. Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1939. RM. 15.

The *Āṭānāṭikasūtra* is a document of some importance for the understanding of popular Buddhism, and this volume is welcome, not merely for its fragments of the Sanskrit text, but also for the critical comparison with the versions extant in Pali, Tibetan, and Chinese. The editing and commentary are sound and leave little to be said; but I doubt if Tib. *ḥtshal-ba* need have the improbable and hitherto unrecorded meaning "ride" attributed to it in note 22, p. 93. It translates Sk. *bhuj* "eat", and so is applied by extension to the derivative sense "make use of"; thus in another text I have found *ñer ḥtshal* for Sk. *upajīvya*, where the latter signifies "utilizable by" or "affording support to".

B. 440. E. H. JOHNSTON.

Islam

RASĀ'IL FALSAFIYYA BY MUḤAMMAD B. ZAKARIYĀ AL-RĀZI. Part 1. Edited by P. KRAUS. pp. 316. Cairo: University Fuād 1; Faculty of Arts 22, 1939.

Al-Rāzi was the greatest of the Muslim physicians and a philosopher who went his own way. Dr. Pines has studied

one side of his philosophy in *Beitraege zur Islamischen Atomenlehre* and here is an edition of his philosophical writings which were believed to be lost. As this volume is a first instalment it is hardly fair to review it as a work on philosophy. It is a mixed bag. There are works on ethics in the form and language in which the author wrote them, one on philosophy which may be his, Persian versions of parts of his books taken from refutations by his opponents, and extracts from Arab authors who quoted and contradicted him. There is also an account of a disputation between al-Rāzi and an Ismā'īli. The *Zād al-Musāfirīn* of Nāṣir Khusrū contains long passages from a treatise on pleasure. The extracts are taken partly from printed books and partly from manuscripts and the editor has done his best to ensure a correct text. Many of the Persian texts are accompanied by an Arabic translation. All the usual editorial matter is provided in Arabic, introductions to the several books, descriptions of manuscripts, and references to relevant literature. One book by al-Rāzi was popular, the *Medicine of the Soul*; an Ismā'īli writer made great use of it, so parallel passages from him are quoted. The book does credit to the Cairo press.

The author is a good oriental. When he uses a parable to prove that it is sometimes right to tell a lie, the lie he chooses is that a buried treasure has been found and needs to be dug up. The doctor appears in the statement that worry causes indigestion and that causes further diseases.

B. 577. A. S. TRITTON.

LA ESPIRITUALIDAD DE ALGAZEL Y SU SENTIDO CRISTIANO. By MIGUEL ASIN PALACIOS. Vol. III. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. 303. Publicaciones de las Escuelas de Estudios Arabes de Madrid y Granada. Serie A, Num. 2. Madrid-Granada: Estanislao Maestre, 1936 (1940). Pesetas 30.

In this volume Professor Asin Palacios brings to a conclusion his study of al-Ghazālī's religious teaching, based upon the

Iḥyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn, a work which the late Professor Margoliouth compared with the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas, so great has been its influence upon Islamic theology.

This third volume deals with the means of attaining to the perfection of the unitive life in God, which is preceded by the abandonment of the vices that hinder that attainment—the purgative life, and the acquisition of the virtues which assist it—the illuminative life. Perfection, al-Ghazālī teaches, is attained by faithful adherence to a rule of life and the practice of the Presence of God, through prayer, meditation, and contemplation, which lead to gnosis and the mystic union, wherein the lover becomes one with the Beloved. The last two chapters of this book are of special interest to students of mysticism.

Throughout, Professor Asin Palacios is concerned to show the close parallel between the teaching of al-Ghazālī and that of Catholic Christianity. While the influence of Christian ideas upon al-Ghazālī is evident, and it is certain that he had made a study of the New Testament, and possibly of other Christian writings, his main sources were undoubtedly the works of earlier Ṣūfīs. Much of what appears to be Christian in al-Ghazālī's teaching had become an integral part of Ṣūfī doctrine long before his time, e.g. a great part of his teaching on the religious value of music (cf. Chapter XXIX of this book) is to be found in Qushayrī and the Persian Hujwīrī, and his teaching on Prayer and Love owes much to Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī, to whom no reference is made in this volume.

An index of subjects, as well as persons, and a bibliography, would have made this book of greater value as a work of reference.

All students of Ṣūfism and all interested in al-Ghazālī's mystical theology will be grateful for this careful study of a great teacher, who is still the most widely-read of all Muslim writers, and they will look forward to the publication of the learned author's *Crestomatia algazeliana*, now in the press.

B. 588 MARGARET SMITH.

Cuneiform

NEO-BABYLONIAN DOCUMENTS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COLLECTION. By E. W. MOORE. 11 × 8, pp. xv + 71, pls. 75, ills. 96. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1939.

This publication of ninety-six texts dated in the Neo-Babylonian, Persian, and Seleucid periods is a further instalment of Miss Moore's earlier work of 1935. With few exceptions the documents are of the familiar kind, legal and business affairs, with one or two letters of similar contents. Hand copies of the tablets occupy seventy-five plates preceded by transliterations, translations, short notes, and a list of personal names, all clearly reproduced from typescript. The copies are evidently accurate in general, though some are unhandsomely large, and a few of the texts are too fragmentary or damaged to be worth reproduction. Miss Moore's translations show a competent acquaintance with the class of material she has chosen, and if there are few novelties few are to be expected in such a collection. The phrase which she transliterates *ita qanâti lib-bi qanâti*, occurring several times, seems to be new and, as it is hardly intelligible (see p. 52), may be due to a mistaken reading. It is an excess of caution to refrain from translating *nuptu* and to retain the god *NIN.IB* in capitals. No. 10 presents an anomaly—a measure of volume is applied, not to dates (as translated) but to the palms themselves. The authors' explanation (p. 53) is no doubt correct. In no. 47 the description of a garment, read as *ṣubat ú-mar iš-di-šu*, can hardly be correct; no. 54 is an exaggerated example of the cumbrous accumulation of *ša*—phrases which often obscures the purport of these late Babylonian contracts. There are more misprints than those noted in the *corrigenda*.

B. 470. C. J. GADD.

THE SUMERIAN KING LIST. By THORKILD JACOBSEN. Oriental Institute of Chicago Assyriological Studies, No. 11. 9½ × 7, pp. xvi + 208, figs. 3, tables 3. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

Dr. Jacobsen has succeeded in extracting new interest from a document which, as he observes, had disappointed many hopes encouraged by its discovery. Criticism soon dissipated the confidence that early Babylonian chronology was to be indisputably founded upon a first-hand record, for it became apparent that the information given by scribes of the Old Babylonian period was partly incredible and partly irreconcilable with known facts. Dr. Jacobsen's labours have not altered this situation, but have thrown much light upon the document and some upon the history it purports to convey.

To a critical text the author has added discussions of its sources, the time of its composition, and its connection with other historical material. In his attempt to relate it to absolute chronology founded upon evidence of later date, the figures adopted will almost certainly be found too high, being based upon the choice of one astronomical possibility coupled with the selective use of later historical evidence in such a way as to produce agreement. But apart from reasons against these high dates it is not legitimate to discard the Assyrian statements in favour of the Babylonian for so odd a reason as is suggested on pp. 192 f. Dr. Jacobsen's argument about the capture of Isin (pp. 198 f.) is doubtless correct. He is, however, too much tempted to explain everything, and to show that it all agrees (pp. 180 ff.)—a dangerous satisfaction.

In the other parts of the book it is possible to notice only a few points. That our completest text, the Oxford prism, should be also the best is a rare piece of fortune (pp. 14 ff.). The independence of the antediluvian section is very interestingly established (pp. 56 ff.), though one cannot believe in the formula, "I (the author) drop the city A." for the grammatical reason given on p. 62; *soloecismum liceat*

fecisse rather than so unnatural a phrase. In the early post-diluvian dynasties occur several obscure and probably corrupt names, for which Dr. Jacobsen offers emended forms of varying probability, among which that of l. 46 (p. 76) is not the most convincing, and the same must be said of his rather violent efforts (pp. 172, 176) to recover the Second Dynasty of Ur. On the date of the list's original composition there is an interesting argument, and the reign of Utu-ḫegal would, as the author says, provide a very suitable context. How the historical notices coupled with the names of certain early kings originated and came to be embodied in the list is discussed on pp. 142 ff. For want of evidence no conclusion is possible, but, in the general absence of contemporary texts, we can hardly venture to distinguish what forms of literature were current before the Old Babylonian period.

B. 527. C. J. GADD.

CUNEIFORM TEXTS IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, COPENHAGEN. By THORKILD JACOBSEN. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8$, pp. 84 + 68. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1939. Guilders 10.

This unassuming work has had a chequered history. It went to press in 1933, since when it has apparently changed its publisher and undergone adjustments partly visible. The writer's command of English is (excusably) defective. There are too many misprints, and even a few faults of carelessness. These are the more surprising as much trouble has been taken in publishing a small collection which Dr. Jacobsen describes with judicious modesty, though its tablets have the interest never absent from such business notes of the Third Dynasty of Ur, undervalued though they are apt to be because of their number and because their factual meaning (in which almost their whole interest lies) often eludes our grasp. The few earlier and later documents in this collection are of less interest.

Any useful review must take the form of comment upo detail, and space precludes all but a minimum of this. *ANŠI* p. 5 (and throughout), for the sign of unknown reading whic denotes a supervisor in these texts, is an improbable innov tion, for the idea is doubtless that of " foot ", i.e. representati (of authority); p. 6, no. 7 " surplus on the convoy " is unwarranted elaboration of " over the regular (number) and a like remark applies to p. 10, no. 20, which seems t mean no more than " disregarding (not counting) 5 + talents ": p. 12, no. 33, the numbers not being divisible b 5½ and 6 respectively, the suggested interpretation is unlikel P. 24, no. 30, is a very interesting text on boat-buildin misunderstood by Dr. Jacobsen: it raises again the question what is the *giš-ḫum* of a boat,[1] and introduces a substanc *ŠE.KUR* used (in small quantities) by carpenter and leather worker, which can hardly be any kind of cereal (p. 78) (fo these were not measured in minas), but some industria substance. The lists of names contain (apart from the strang formations of the Urukagina period) some of the fiction and curiosities seldom absent from such collections: p. 3 (last name), read *šu-mu-im-bi*; such phrases as *é-ara₃*, *má-gur₈-ri*, *me-ki-maš-gu-la* have no place in a list of names and on p. 47 the last name should be *ur-nigìn-gar*. Th vocabulary is useful but calls for several observations impossible to develop here—*agam*, very doubtful; *bar* " without "—the example quoted is inadmissible; *ir-sud* meaning obscure, but why any kind of offering ?; *sa-ge-a*, " sold," is not justified by the note on p. 15; *gukkal*, the explanation (p. 65) is impossibly strained; *ka* (not *ká*), " gate," is unlikely and not justified by the passage; *ki-ba*, " ear of grain," is happily withdrawn by the author himself in his prefixed corrections; *lú RIQ* is a brewer and *lú TUG* a washerman rather than a tailor; under *sum* (p. 76) there

[1] The explanation of M. Armas Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien*, p. 94, might not be inconsistent with this text, but should be considered with reference to it.

is an incorrect translation, and *šà dub-ba* (on the same page) "in the ba-tablet" is *vraiment trop fort*. Much praise is due to the neatness and clarity of the copied texts.

B. 521. C. J. GADD.

Art, Archæology, Anthropology

LA COLLECTION KHMER. By HENRI MARCHAL, Chef Honoraire du Service Archéologique. Catalogue of the Collection in the Musée Louis Finot at Hanoi, French Indo-China. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$. Hanoi: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1939.

This book should be of good service to visitors to the Museum at Hanoi. An Introduction of twenty-two pages is devoted to an historical survey of the Khmer kingdom, followed by a list of the Kings of Cambodia (as far as can be stated at the present time) from its inception as a kingdom in the sixth century A.D. up to the middle of the fourteenth. Eighteen pages given to a short study of Khmer statuary will repay more than a cursory reading, and then follow an excellent bibliography of great value to the student of Khmer history and art. About a hundred pages describe each individual piece in the Khmer section of the Museum which contains, according to the catalogue, fifty-three pieces of stone statuary, 172 figures and other objects in metal, mostly bronze, and sixty-six pieces of pottery. At the end of the volume are twelve illustrations and a sketch-plan of the section devoted to Khmer art.

The Introduction brings into prominence two points which have not yet received any wide measure of notice. The first is that, although the origins of Khmer art and architecture lie in India, the strong, personal, local form developed in Cambodia is due to the admixture of an autochthonous Indonesian race, of which the Moï are the last descendants. The second is that M. Parmentier believes he has succeeded

in establishing a type of architecture which may be reasonably attributed to the earlier Kingdom of Funan. The type of tower-sanctuary to which he refers may be recognized by its cubic form, its very low storeys, and its undecorated walls.

In passing, M. Marchal gives it as his opinion that in the second century A.D. Funan embraced not only the basin of the Mekhong in its lower reaches but also that of the Menam as well, i.e. Central Siam. This is hardly reconcilable with his later statement that Funan received the inspiration for its Buddhist statuary, indirectly from India, through the influence of the Môn school of Dvāravatī, a kingdom which, it is now agreed, occupied the valley of the Menam in the first millennium of the Christian era.

It is interesting to note that M. Marchal places the beginning of the decline of the Khmer Empire in the thirteenth century, since in my *Buddhist Art in Siam* I had somewhat hazardously attributed it to the end of the twelfth, for which M. Coedès took me gently to task. I admit my error, but I was not far wrong!

B. 551. REGINALD LE MAY.

Anthropology

THE TRAVANCORE TRIBES AND CASTES. Vol. II. By L. A. KRISHNA IYER. 9 × 5½, pp. liv + 344. Trivandrum: Government Press, 1939.

This volume maintains the high standard set up by the author in his valuable vol. i of 1937. Dr. Hutton supplies a Foreword followed by an interesting Introduction by Baron von Eickstedt, who deals with the classification of the population of India on his now familiar lines. The latter, for reasons readily acceptable, disregards the earlier Aryan, Dravidian, and Kolarian in favour of the terms Indid, Melanid, and Veddid, with appropriate subdivisions, thus

avoiding possible confusion between racial and linguistic divisions. There are valuable notes confirming James Campbell's theories on the spirit basis of belief and custom, as, for instance (*vide* pp. 27, 28) the special appeal at burial to ancestor spirits and (p. 33) to parents and grandparents to act as guardians. Evidence of the belief that spirit possession causes disease is plentiful, and details are given of the organization of marriage groups on totemistic lines, though adequate attention has hardly been devoted to this important aspect of primitive tribes, for totemism is not even mentioned in the index. In fact, more prominence has been given to anthropometrical data than to social organization. There is new evidence of a negrito strain in the aboriginal population of Southern India (p. 292). "There are no distinctly negrito communities in India nor has any trace of a negrito language been discovered. But distinctly negrito features not only crop up continually from the Himalayan slopes to Cape Comorin, but also abound in great megalithic monuments which help us, to some extent, to unravel the history of the remote past." The Urālis, Malapantārams, Kānikkār, and Vishavans are quoted as instances of this survival.

The author has furnished a valuable addition to materials placed on record by the Ethnographic Survey of India, initiated by the late Sir Herbert Risley. The work is well illustrated, and contains valuable anthropometrical data.

The vernacular Appendix I might perhaps have been omitted as of little use to most students of this subject, and it may be found desirable in a future edition to correct the strange assertion that in certain cases a man may marry his deceased wife's sister even while she is alive (p. 150).

B. 575. R. E. ENTHOVEN.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

ANNIVERSARY GENERAL MEETING,

8th May, 1941

During the year the following Members died :—

Sir George Grierson (Hon. Vice-President), Dr. D. van Hoytema, Mr. C. H. Keith Jopp, Professor C. R. Lanman (Hon. Member), Sardar J. S. Misra, Sir E. Denison Ross, and Mr. I. Schwaiger.

The following resigned :—

Miss K. H. Henrey; the Rt. Rev. Bishop W. C. White; Messrs. T. Brown, J. C. Fergusson, P. J. Ramasamy Iyer, L. A. Lyall, B. N. Navagire, F. M. B. Rosenthal, S. Smith, S. Tolkowsky.

The following took up their election :—

Mrs. Barclay Black, Mrs. V. Cressy-Marcks; The Misses M. G. Cormack, A. R. Pearn, M. V. Seton-Williams, L. M. Warner; Rev. H. F. Burroughs; Rabbi Dr. E. Neufeld Dr. O. Kurz; Professor P. Kahle; Maulvi Syed K. H. Rizvi; Sardar H. Singh; Messrs. S. D. Arya, A. E. B. Bruce, S. Pratap, R. C. Medford, J. Morris, Md. al-Nowaihi, M. R. Saraf, Ranjan Sen.

Delay in the receipt of mails and war conditions make the usual table showing fluctuation in membership etc. premature.

Lectures during the Year :—

"The Desert Frontiers of Egypt," by Major C. S. Jarvis.

"Sacred Boats, with special reference to their use in Burials," by Professor Maurice Canney.

"A Journey among Primitive Tribes in Madagascar," by Mrs. Olive Murray Chapman.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance at 31st December, 1939		
Carnegie Grant for printing Catalogue	250 0 0	
Compounded Subscriptions Account	835 15 7	
	1,085 15 7	
Less: Over-expenditure on General Account	1,027 7 3	
		58 8 4
Subscriptions—		
Resident Members	162 15 0	
Non-Resident Members	548 14 0	
Non-Resident Compounders	12 0 0	
Students and Miscellaneous	21 13 3	
		745 2 3
Rents Received		403 15 0
Grants—		
Government of India	315 0 0	
" Federated Malay States	40 0 0	
" Straits Settlements	20 0 0	
" Hong Kong	10 0 0	
		385 0 0
Journal Account—		
Subscriptions	367 19 4	
Additional Copies sold	8 18 6	
Pamphlets sold	2 8 4	
		379 6 2
Dividends		81 1 2
Centenary Volume Sales		4 6
Commission on Sale of Books		2 15 6
Sale of £350 3½% War Bonds		347 4 0
Legacy from Professor Margoliouth		100 0 0
Sundry Receipts		34 15 2
		£2,537 12 1

Investments

£1,426 1s. 10d. Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
£777 1s. 1d. 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960–90.

PAYMENTS.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
House Account—		
Rent and Land Tax	402 12 4	
Rates, less contributed by Tenants	46 5 7	
Gas and Light	56 3 11	
Coal and Coke	39 19 6	
Telephone less refunds	13 5 2	
Cleaning	6 0 0	
Insurance	36 19 0	
Repairs and Renewals	20 2 8	
Surveyor	62 19 0	
		684 7 2
Leasehold Redemption Fund		30 10 6
Salaries and Wages		689 0 7
Printing and Stationery		27 18 10
Journal Account—		
Printing	784 11 0	
Postage	25 0 0	
		809 11 0
Library Expenditure		10 14 2
General Postage		28 4 9
Sundry Expenses—		
Teas	12 16 4	
Lectures	14 1 0	
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	17 14 5	
Other General Expenditure	23 14 6	
		68 6 3
A.R.P. Expenditure		17 16 0
Audit Fee for 1938 & 1939		10 10 0
Balance at 31st December, 1940		
Carnegie Grant for printing catalogue	250 0 0	
Compounders' Subscriptions Account.	1,180 5 8	
	1,430 5 8	
Less: Over-expenditure on General Account	1,269 12 10	
		160 12 10
Represented by:		
Cash at Bank on General Account	154 5 1	
Cash at Post Office Savings Bank	5 7	
Cash in hand	6 2 2	
	160 12 10	
		£2,537 12 1

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { REGINALD LE MAY, Auditor for the Council. WILLIAM FOSTER, Auditor for the Society.

3rd July, 1941.

SPECIAL FUNDS

Oriental Translation Fund

Receipts	£	s.	d.	Payments	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1940. Jan. 1.				1940. Jan. 1.						
Balance . . .	244	15	5	Storage of Stock .				2	7	10
Sales	28	5	0	Printing 500, Binding 100 Vol. XXXV .				65	10	8
Interest on Deposit .	1	3	3	Binding 35 Vols. XIX and XXII . .					16	0
				Subsidy towards Printing Tibetan Documents . . .				120	0	0
				Sundries . . .				1	1	7
				Balance carried to Summary . . .				84	7	7
	£274	3	8					£274	3	8

Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.				Dec. 31.			
Balance . . .	64	10	2	Balance carried to Summary . . .	80	15	9
Sales	16	5	7				
	£80	15	9		£80	15	9

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.				Dec. 31.						
Oriental Translation Fund	84	7	7	Cash at Bank—						
Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund .	80	15	9	On Current Account .	105	3	4			
				On Deposit Account .	60	0	0			
								165	3	4
	£165	8	4					£165	3	4

Leasehold Redemption Fund

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.				Dec. 31.						
Balance . . .	631	5	5	Balance represented by £645 10*s.* 2*d.* 3½%						
Transfer from General Account . .	30	10	6	War Loan . . .	661	15	11			
Dividends to be Re-invested . . .	22	11	10	Cash at Bank . .	22	11	10			
								684	7	9
	£684	7	9					£684	7	9

TRUST FUNDS

Prize Publication Fund

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1940. Jan. 1.				1940. Dec. 31.			
Balance . . .	77	1	11	Subsidy towards Printing Vol. XVIII . .	28	18	7
Sales	15	7	6	Binding 25 Vols. XVII.	1	11	3
Dividends . . .	18	0	0	Balance carried to Summary . . .	79	19	7
	£110	9	5		£110	9	5

Gold Medal Fund

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.				Dec. 31.			
Balance . . .	41	18	5	Balance carried to Summary . . .	51	13	5
Dividends . . .	9	15	0				
	£51	13	5		£51	13	5

UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND

Jan. 1.	£	s.	d.	Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE . . .	156	6	2	CASH PRIZES . . .	35	0	0
DIVIDENDS . . .	20	15	4	BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY . . .	142	1	6
	£177	1	6		£177	1	6

DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT

Jan. 1.				Dec. 31.			
BALANCE . . .	79	12	6	BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY . . .	101	15	10
DIVIDENDS . . .	14	17	6				
INCOME TAX REFUND .	7	5	10				
	£101	15	10		101	15	10

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

Dec. 31.				Dec. 31.			
PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	79	19	7	CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT	375	10	4
GOLD MEDAL FUND .	51	13	5				
UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND . .	142	1	6				
DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT . .	101	15	10				
	£375	10	4		£375	10	4

TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
£325 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).
£645 11*s*. 2*d*. Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "B" Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).
£40 3½% Conversion Stock 1961 (Universities Prize Essay Fund).
Rs. 12,000 3½% Government of India Promissory Note No. 034904 of 1879 (Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account).

I have examined the above Statements with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates in verification of the Investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
Countersigned {REGINALD LE MAY, Auditor for the Council.
WILLIAM FOSTER, Auditor for the Society.

3rd July, 1941.

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

RECEIPTS				PAYMENTS			
1939. Jan. 1.				1939. Dec. 31.			
BALANCE . . .	11	0	2	BALANCE, CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT	12	9	7
DIVIDENDS . . .	1	9	5				
	£12	9	7		£12	9	7

INVESTMENT—
£49 0*s*. 10*d*. 3% Local Loans.

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

Jan. 1.				Dec. 31.						
BALANCE . . .	444	13	8	PRINTING 200 VOL. XVIII				61	8	2
SALES . . .	35	11	6	SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES—						
DIVIDENDS . . .	179	14	6	2 SCHOLARSHIPS .	100	0	0			
INCOME-TAX RECOVERED FOR THE YEAR ENDED 5TH APRIL, 1939 .	39	1	11	LECTURES . .	50	0	0	150	0	0
				BINDING 25 VOLS. 2 .				1	3	3
				10% COMMISSION ON 1939 SALES . . .				2	15	6
				BALANCE, CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT				483	14	8
	£699	1	7					£699	1	7

INVESTMENTS

£1,005 14*s*. 7*d*. New South Wales 4% Inscribed Stock 1942–62.
£1,015 16*s*. 3*d*. South Australian Government 4% Government Inscribed Stock 1940–60.
£1,010 Bengal-Nagpur Railway 4% Debenture Stock.
£700 3½% Conversion Loan 1961.
£45 East India Railway Co. Annuity Class "B".
£253 18*s*. 4*d*. 3½% War Loan.
£1,143 6*s*. 3*d*. India 3½% Inscribed Stock.

I have examined the above Abstracts of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and certify the said abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
Countersigned {REGINALD LE MAY, Auditor for the Council.
WILLIAM FOSTER, Auditor for the Society.

3rd July, 1941.

"Malaya and the Malays," by Sir Richard O. Winstedt.

"The Chinese Collection in the Bodleian Library," by the Rev. E. R. Hughes.

In conjunction with the Warburg Institute.

"The Beauty of Indian Sculpture," by Dora Gordine (Hon. Mrs. Richard Hare).

"Indian Tales in Islamic Art," by Dr. H. Buchthal.

Triennial Gold Medal.—It was unanimously agreed to present this to Professor F. W. Thomas, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D., F.B.A.

Burton Memorial Medal.—This was awarded to Major J. B. Glubb, O.B.E., M.C.

Universities' Essay Prize.—A first prize was won by Mr. Geoffrey Scott Mowat of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and a second by Miss R. M. Wilkinson of Bristol University, who both wrote on "A brief comparison of the British, French, and Dutch systems of administration in the East".

Society's Publications during 1940–41.

Prize Publication Fund.—*Adventurers in Siam in XVII Century*, by E. W. Hutchinson.

Forlong Fund.—*A Dictionary of the Language of Bugoto*, compiled by W. G. Ivens; *A Translation of the Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, by T. Burrow; *Sogdica*, by W. B. Henning.

Library Catalogue.—This will appear shortly.

The Journal.—The Council is deeply indebted to Professor W. Perceval Yetts for designing a new and attractive cover with the Society's oldest badge.

Officers

To fill a vacancy among Hon. Members due to the death of Professor C. R. Lanman, the election of Professor D. B. Macdonald was recommended, and to fill a vacancy among the Honorary Vice-Presidents Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham. The reappointment of all the Hon. Officers was proposed.

The following Auditors were recommended: Hon. Auditor for the Council, Sir R. Burn; to represent the Society, Mr. R. E. Enthoven; Professional Auditors, Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co. It is regretted that owing to war conditions the accounts cannot be audited before July.

Thanks are due to the Hon. Solicitors, Messrs. T. L. Wilson and Co., for ungrudging help.

£100 of the normal rent has been generously remitted by His Grace the Duke of Westminster.

A further decline in income due to decreased membership and to the non-receipt of foreign subscriptions and of orders from foreign booksellers owing to the war compelled a reduction of office and library staff and other drastic economies.

Report of the Honorary Auditors

Sir Nicholas Waterhouse explained the accounts to us, and we found them, as usual, in excellent order.

Unfortunately the financial position of the Society has shown no signs of improvement during the year under review. The over-expenditure on general account has risen from £1,027 to £1,269, though this increase is partially offset by the fact that the balance in hand, at £160, is more than last year by £102. As in previous years this over-expenditure has been debited to the Compounders' Subscriptions Account and the Carnegie Grant for printing the Catalogue.

Subscriptions have fallen off by £186, Rents by £31, and the Journal Account by £108. These losses were partially made good by a legacy from Professor Margoliouth of £100, but it was found necessary, in order to provide sufficient funds, to sell £350 worth of 3½% War Bonds from the investments held by the Society.

On the payments side certain economies have been effected. The House Account was reduced by £26, Salaries and Wages by £119, Library Expenditure by £144 (but no payment was made during the year for printing the Catalogue), and Sundry Expenses and Postage by £78. On the other hand the Journal

Account was larger by £53, A.R.P. expenditure came to £17 16*s*., and Audit Fees for 1938 and 1939 were paid, amounting to £10 10*s*.

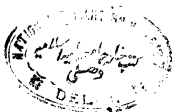
REGINALD LE MAY, *For the Council*,
WILLIAM FOSTER, *For the Society*.

Notices

DR. B. C. LAW TRUST SERIES

This trust was founded by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, of Calcutta, to facilitate the publication of original literary contributions on Buddhism, Jainism, or the History or Geography of India to the end of the thirteenth century A.D. Inquiries should be addressed to the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY

The Royal Asiatic Society is affiliated to the National Central Library, Malet Street, London. A member may through the Society borrow any book from it and from any library in the United Kingdom affiliated to it. As some 114 libraries are affiliated, the scope for borrowing is wide.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

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The Ancient Trade Route past Hatra and its Roman Posts

(PLATE I)

By SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., F.B.A.

IN the spring of 1938 I was able with valuable help from the Royal Air Force and the material support of the Iraq Petroleum Company to carry out a survey of ancient remains along a portion of Rome's Mesopotamian *Limes* in the extreme north-west of Iraq. These explorations were closely connected with the researches which Père A. Poidebard, S.J., had effected before on the Syrian *Limes* and recorded in a masterly publication.[1] In the following autumn the survey was resumed by me with the same generous aid and continued until May, 1939, along all routes protected by Roman defences that could be traced from the Tigris and Euphrates into the Syrian desert and thence through Trans-jordan down to the Gulf of Aqaba.

Succinct preliminary accounts of these explorations have been published in the *Geographical Journal* of July, 1938, and June, 1940, and the results of my first season summarized in a note published in this *Journal*.[2] A detailed report on the whole of my surveys along Rome's easternmost *Limes* awaits publication along with photographs, aerial and other, plans and maps needed to document it, whenever the requisite means can be secured. Meanwhile I record here such observations as may, even without going into archæological details, throw light on the history of a portion of an ancient line of communication, important and yet little known, which once led from the economic centre of the Mesopotamian plain mainly through desert west of the Middle Tigris towards northernmost Syria and Asia Minor.

There was a special reason to search for Roman remains to

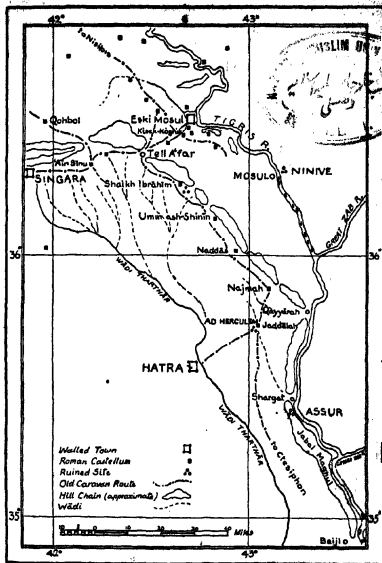
[1] *La Trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie*, Paris, 1934. See my review of the two fine volumes in *Geographical Journal*, January, 1936.

[2] *JRAS.*, 1936, pp. 423 sqq.

the south-east of Singara, the ancient *Limes* stronghold at the foot of the Sinjār range; for in that direction lay Hatra, that strange ruined city in the desert, past which the ancient caravan route led towards Ctesiphon and the head of the Persian Gulf. Accounts of the repeated sieges it stood in the Mesopotamian campaigns of the Emperors Trajan and Septimius Severus had attracted early attention to Hatra. Its ruins were first correctly located in 1836 by Dr. J. Ross at al-Hadhr on the Wādi Tharthār, about 70 miles to the south-east of Balad Sinjār or Singara (*vide* map).[1] The survey made by the German Assur expedition provided ample information about its impressive structural remains. But much of its history before its destruction by the Persians, probably under Sapor I, and its subsequent abandonment to the desert, is left obscure.[2]

Nothing definite is recorded of the foundation of Hatra. But it may be assumed with Professor Herzfeld that it represents an Arab desert settlement, as its very name al-Hadhr indicates. The Hellenistic character of its architectural and sculptural remains dates it from Parthian times. Classical accounts are mainly confined to accounts of successive futile sieges. But topography makes it clear that Hatra owed its origin and importance wholly to having been a "caravan city" in the truest sense of Professor M. Rostovtzeff's happily coined term. Cassius Dion's account of Trajan's attempt to take Hatra in 117 is significant. "Next he came into Arabia and began operations against the people of Hatra, since they, too, had revolted. This city is neither large nor prosperous, and the surrounding country is mostly desert, and has neither water (save a small amount and that poor in quality) nor timber nor fodder. These

[1] The sketch-map (see p. 301) shows essential topographical features reproduced from Sheets I 38 and J 38 of the International 1 · 1,000,000 Map, with Roman posts, ruined sites, and old caravan routes added as located in the course of my surveys.

[2] Professor E. Herzfeld has reviewed available data with much critical care in his exhaustive article "Hatra", *ZDMG.*, 1914, pp. 655 sqq.

Rough Sketch Map of Portion of the Jazīrah
from sheets I 38, J 38 of the International 1 : 1,000,000 Map
with additions to show Roman *Limes* posts, ruined sites, and
old caravan routes.

very disadvantages, however, afford it protection, making impossible a siege by a large multitude, as does the Sun-god, to whom it is consecrated." [1] That Trajan on his way back to Syria after virtual abandonment of his great Mesopotamian conquests should have stopped in person to reduce Hatra suggests that it lay near a main line of communication and was a place of importance.

The account of the two attempts made by Septimius Severus to reduce Hatra leads to the same conclusion. The first, apparently in 199, took place on the Emperor's return from the sack of Ctesiphon.[2] The army's march lay along the Tigris, and an attack was made "on Hatra which was not far off". It failed after the Romans had suffered heavy losses. For the second expedition against Hatra, apparently a year later, elaborate preparations were made. But violent attacks "by the cavalry of the Arabians" and their expert archery caused great losses. When a portion of the outer circumvallation had fallen, the Emperor's order checked the final assault. Expecting "the Arabians to come to terms voluntarily" he wished to save the riches of the town from being plundered by the soldiery.. For it was famous for "containing a vast number of offerings to the Sun-god as well as vast sums of money". When no offer of surrender was received, the siege was abandoned as the European (*sic*) troops refused to renew the assault and the Syrians, compelled to make it in their place, miserably failed.

Hatra had retained its importance when about 227 Ardashīr I, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, attempted to take it "as a base for attacking the Romans".[3] That Ardashīr failed is a proof of the desert city having then retained its

[1] *Dion's Roman History*, lviii, 31, Loeb Classical Library, viii, pp. 419 sq. That Hatra is placed here in the territory known to the Romans as Arabia, i.e. the central portion of the Jazīrah, fully agrees with a previous passage of Dion Cassius, loc. cit., lviii, 22. This mentions Mannus as "the ruler of the neighbouring portion of Arabia" and Singara as taken from him by Trajan's general Lusius Quietus.

[2] Dion, loc. cit., lxxvi, 11 sq.

[3] Dion, loc. cit., lxxx, 3.

strength. Traditions preserved by Arabian historians about the ultimate fall of Hatra are vague and leave it doubtful whether it was brought about by Ardashīr I or his son Sapor I. It was the latter who in 245 took and destroyed Dura-Europos, Hatra's *pendant* as a "caravan city" on the trade route along the Euphrates. Hatra may have fallen then.

After its fall to the Persians Hatra was destroyed and wholly abandoned just as was Dura. This we are told by Ammianus Marcellinus in his account of the distressful retreat which in 363 took the Emperor Jovian's army through the desert past Hatra and which the soldier-historian shared and graphically describes. He speaks of Hatra as "an ancient town in the middle of a desert and long abandoned".[1] This account contains useful topographical indications as to the route followed past Hatra. But it will be advisable to consider first those geographical features which account for the choice of this route and explain the strange position of the city.

A look at any map like Bartholomew's "Map of the Middle East" shows that Hatra lies almost exactly on the most direct line connecting Seleucia-Ctesiphon near the present Baghdād with Nisibis. From the latter place great trade routes, important in ancient and modern times, continue that line into Northern Syria and Asia Minor. The strongly fortified city of Nisibis was the chief bulwark of Roman Mesopotamia against Parthians and Sasanians down to its cession in 363 by the Emperor Jovian. Ammianus Marcellinus emphasizes its importance in his account of Jovian's retreat from Ctesiphon to Nisibis. From his narrative it appears clearly that it was the eager wish of the retreating troops to gain Nisibis quickly which caused the Roman army to cross to the right bank of the Tigris below the present Tekrīt and thence to take its way through the desert past Hatra, in spite of want of adequate water and provisions.

Ammianus Marcellinus indicates the topographical reason why the route was bound to leave the river and pass

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, XXV, viii, 4.

on to desert ground. This was "because the parts near the river were rugged and difficult".[1] As the map shows, a line easy for traffic leads from Baghdād up the Tigris keeping at varying short distances from the river's right bank as far as Baiji. It is the line followed by the *quondam* Baghdād Railway now completed as part of the Iraq State Railway. Beyond Baiji the southern end of the low but very rugged hill range of the Jabal Maqhūl stretches up the right bank for some 60 miles. With its steep and deeply furrowed slopes it precludes the use of the line by the river for traffic. But to the west between the hill range and the deeply cut Wādi Tharthār there stretches north-westwards a perfectly open valley plain as far as Hatra. With its flat surface, plentiful desert grazing, and a number of drinking wells this ground is particularly suited for caravan traffic with camels, though not for a large force.

The ruined city of Hatra is situated at a direct distance of 65 miles to the north-west of Baiji and about 2 miles to the west of the Wādi Tharthār. This Wādi carries rather brackish water throughout the year, but is easily fordable except during heavy floods. Drinkable water is found at several points near its banks and numerous wells within the city still hold fairly good water. The limestone along the banks of the Tharthār provided material for the walls and houses of the city. The soil all round Hatra after the rains of winter and spring provides plentiful grazing for camels but does not permit of cultivation, irrigation from the Tharthār being precluded by the depth of its bed.

The site thus lacked amenities for settled occupation in ancient times as now. Yet it was a well placed centre for the control of caravan trade from central Mesopotamia to the regions adjoining the upper Tigris and Euphrates and beyond. Trade of such great value as passed in Parthian times from the Persian Gulf and across the Iranian plateaux to the Roman Empire needed protection in transit on desert

[1] Ibid., XXV, vii, 14.

ground ever exposed to Arab raids. This protection could best be provided by chiefs and organizations controlling the local nomad tribes. The dues levied for this protection and the profit made by local trading organizations account for the wealth of the desert city. Conditions closely similar prevailed at Palmyra during the same period, while trade from Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean passed largely through the Syrian desert. At Palmyra these conditions are amply attested by inscriptions.

Historical references leave no doubt as to the wealth of Hatra and the strength of its defences. The extant ruins fully bear them out. The almost circular enceinte of massive double walls, surmounted by many towers, measures more than 4 miles in circumference. The imposing ruined structure, which with the great walled enclosure adjoining it occupies the centre of the city, has long been recognized as the residence of the ruler, while the shrine within it is dedicated to the Sun-god.

Without excavations no addition could be expected to the account of the ruins of Hatra in Dr. Andrae's great publication. But acquaintance with the ground has impressed me with the justice of Dion Cassius's reference to the city's forbiddingly barren surroundings which "afford it protection, making impossible a siege by a large multitude". To what extent consideration of safety influenced the choice of the site we do not know. But certain it is that the surrounding desert must have made investment of the city difficult, and have facilitated such swift Arab raids as harassed the Roman army during the siege of Septimius Severus. On this account the remains of the siege ramparts encircling the walled city claim special interest. The photographic mosaic taken from the air by Pilot Officer H. L. Hunt, R.A.F. (the very capable airman whose help greatly facilitated my work through the major portion of my explorations), in the course of my survey, shows them in their total circuit of close on 6 miles. Their great extent must

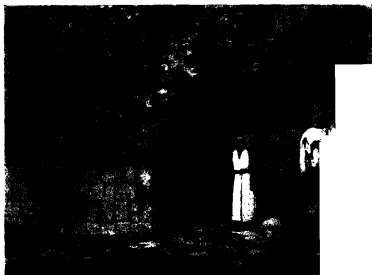
have involved protracted and heavy labours. Hence their attribution to the prolonged Sasanian siege seems justified.

In the absence of more detailed historical records it would be difficult to account for the importance once enjoyed by the desert city were it not for the topographical facts which caused a great artery of caravan trade to pass it.

The special facilities between Baiji on the Tigris and Hatra for caravan traffic (as now for a section of railway line beyond Baiji to Mosul) have been indicated. But reference remains to be made to the line that route could best follow from Hatra onwards. A succession of small hill chains striking in the same south-east to north-west direction as the Jabal Maqhūl but lower and less rugged, continue its line north of Hatra from a gap left near Sharqat (ancient Assur). They separate the valley of the Tigris from the broad trough of the Wādi Tharthār. Along their western foot there stretches a gently sloping glacis with a hard sandy surface affording easy going for camels. Small springs here and there provide water, scanty and soon lost in the ground; it is mainly sulphurous but drinkable. The drainage on the low hills is too small to produce deep-cut Wādis. Further down in the flat trough of the Wādi Tharthār conditions are less favourable for caravan traffic. There numerous drainage courses descending from the high Sinjār range have cut deep into the alluvial soil. The Wādis thus created offer obstacles to traffic even when floods do not fill them. There are obstacles equally serious on the ground between the eastern slopes of those hill chains and the Tigris. This ground to the west of the Tigris right up to Mosul is so much broken by ravines and limestone ridges that it could have offered no attraction for a trade route before the rise of Mosul in Muhammadan times.[1]

That the caravan route past Hatra did not cease to be a

[1] The difficulties here presented for traffic are illustrated by the fact that the railway which for the sake of Mosul has been carried over this ground could cross it only with the help of a fairly expensive tunnel completed quite recently.

PART OF THE FAÇADE OF TEMPLE AND PALACES AT HATRA

REMAINS OF THE ROMAN TOWN WALL AT SINGARA (BALAD SINJAR)

regular line of communication even after the city's destruction is shown by the Roman army under Jovian having followed it on the retreat to Nisibis. The same is proved for a much later period by Arabic inscriptions of the close of the twelfth century recording the establishment of a caravanserai in the ruined palace of Hatra.[1]

The maintenance of the trade for which Hatra served as an emporium was here as on other routes leading from Ctesiphon to the Mediterranean a direct interest of the Roman Empire. Hence it may be inferred that while the Roman expeditions under Trajan and Septimius Severus which aimed at complete control of this trade by the conquest of all Mesopotamia failed, the trade itself did not suffer. Père Poidebard's and my own explorations have shown that Rome provided protection for this trade on the great caravan routes leading through Palmyra and also along the Euphrates by means of defensive posts or castella. Their remains are found not merely where the routes lay within the Roman territory guarded by the *Limes* proper but also in the desert beyond it.[2] Similar protection was called for also on the route passing Hatra. This accounts for the Roman castella whose remains I could trace along the line shown to have been best adapted for caravan traffic past Hatra towards Nisibis.

In a note published elsewhere[3] I have referred briefly to the series of castella traced in the spring of 1938 which guarded the north-western portion of the ancient highway to Nisibis where it led through the open corridor provided by the fertile plain between the Sinjār Range and the Tigris above Mosul. In the direction towards Hatra I then discovered the remains of a large Roman castellum near the village of Shaikh Ibrāhīm where the once cultivated area to the south-west of the

[1] Herzfeld, *ZDMG.*, 1914, p. 676.

[2] Poidebard, *Trace de Rome*, pp. 118 sqq.; *Geographical Journal*, June, 1940, pp. 430 sqq.

[3] *Geographical Journal*, July, 1938, pp. 62 sqq.

Sinjār range ends. This post lying at the foot of the northernmost of the low hill chains mentioned above as stretching north-west beyond the Jabal Maqhūl suggested by its position that it was meant to guard the most convenient route coming from Hatra. But it was only on my survey in the following autumn that I definitely traced the whole series of castella meant to protect this route between Hatra and the eastern end of the Sinjār range.

The site of the castellum, which from its nearness to Hatra and on other grounds is of special interest, is known as Jaddālah. It lies in the desert about 14 miles to the west of the oil wells of Qayyārah on the Tigris and 22 miles in a straight line to the north-west of Hatra. What had guided me to it from Qayyārah at the start of my survey in March, 1938, was not the remains of the castellum but a far more conspicuous ruin. By the right bank of a small streamlet fed by springs of tolerably fresh water in the narrow rocky bed of the Wādi Jaddālah rises a mound formed by high debris-covered ridges marking an enclosure about 220 feet square. At its eastern face there is exposed the foot of a continuous stretch of wall. A portion of it consists of carefully dressed large slabs, surmounted in places by the bottom drums of columns resting on square bases. The rest of the wall-face including small bastions shows masonry, obviously later, formed by small undressed blocks of stone set in mortar.

Clearly materials from an earlier structure had been utilized here for the circumvallation of a fort. There was nothing definite to indicate when the latter was built. But that the structure to which the small section with the line of columns had belonged dated from Parthian times and probably was a temple could be concluded from the Hellenistic style of the columns and their moulded bases. A high mound inside the enclosed area adjoining this portion of the wall face marks the position of this structure. When closer examination of the site became possible we discovered from the air the much effaced but unmistakable remains of a typical Roman castellum

close by on the opposite side of the Wādi. The correctly orientated walls forming a square, the disposition of the corner and flanking towers, and the dimensions proved it to correspond in plan very closely with other *Limes* castella examined by Père Poidebard and myself.

The presence of both a Parthian structure and a Roman castellum at Jaddālah justifies the belief that the site lay on a route of importance, and the map shows that this route connected Hatra with the route which leads along the foot of the hill chain north-eastwards and provides the easiest line for traffic from the right bank of the Tigris towards Nisibis. The perennial supply of water made Jaddālah a very convenient halting place. It has remained so to the present day for camps of nomadic Shammārs on their annual migration northward. It had been used for trade caravans during a long period, as proved by a low mound of roughly quadrangular shape surrounded by a fosse and covered by layers of refuse, less than a mile to the south of the Jaddālah castellum.

That Roman protection once extended so far on the trade route leading to Hatra was proved by the discovery of another castellum at Najmah, some 8 miles to the N.N.E. of Hatra at the western foot of the hill chain just mentioned. A fairly large sulphur spring there serves to irrigate a patch of fields now cultivated by a small Arab hamlet. Close to this rises a small rectangular Turkish fort now abandoned. It was meant to keep control over Shammārs camping or moving near the route and was said to have been garrisoned by some seventy Turkish cavalry until the last War. The much decayed remains of the Roman castellum are situated less than a mile off to the S.W. They form a rectangle of 200 by 134 feet, enclosing an area of about one-third larger than that of the modern Turkish fort. The massive stone masonry of the curtain walls and towers had evidently been used as a quarry when the latter was built.

The location of a Roman castellum at Najmah, together with the castellum at Jaddālāh, affords definite proof that

the route skirting the western foot of the hill chain which extends from the Tigris near Baiji towards Tell A'far at the eastern extremity of the Sinjār range, was for a time protected by Rome as an outlying section of its Mesopotamian *Limes*. Najmah is separated by a distance of close on 38 miles from the large castellum of Shaikh Ibrāhīm. This, as already mentioned, lies near the northern end of this section and on the way to the town of Tell A'far. Through the latter lay the *Limes* line proper stretching from the Khābur River past Singara to the once important town of Eski Mosul ("Old Mosul") on the Tigris.

A close search over the line between Najmah and Shaikh Ibrāhīm revealed two more castella. Both lie along the foot of the hill chain which the ancient caravan route skirted and both by their smaller size mark intermediate posts. At Naddās about 12 miles from Najmah the ruin of a rectangular castellum was found to be surrounded by decayed dwellings of a modest settlement which had been occupied down to medieval times. The presence of a spring accounted for the continued occupation of the place as a roadside station. Some 15 miles further to the north-west at Umm ash-Shinīn I discovered the remains of a similar small castellum also much decayed, near a spring; the water from this has allowed a little patch of ground to be brought recently under cultivation again. A Roman well about halfway to Naddās affords further evidence of the route here having been "organized" in ancient times.

Acquaintance with the topography of the ground makes it possible correctly to recognize the character of the remains traced along the ancient route from Hatra towards the Sinjār range. It also helps us to interpret the scanty references to this ground in classical records. Such an assertion of Rome's power on the Mesopotamian *Limes* as would allow of effective control of the route to within a day's march of Hatra, can be assumed only during the period intervening between the reconquest of part of the Provincia Mesopotamia, i.e. northern

portion of the Jazīrah, under the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, in 162–5, and the rise of the great Sasanian Empire in place of the weak Parthian régime (A.D. 226).

In the absence of definite historical or inscriptional record no closer chronological limits can be indicated for the establishment of the Roman posts traced on this route. But fortunately there has come down to us in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* a Roman cartographical record which, as far as the routes and places in Mesopotamia are concerned, has proved to be based on the *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti*. This book dates from the very period to which the castella between Hatra and Sinjār may safely be assigned.

The *Tabula* as first recognized by Kiepert,[1] shows two separate route lines from Singara to Hatra. One of them is marked with the stations and mileage distances : Singara XXI Zagurae XVIII Ad pontem XVIII Abdeae XX Ad flumen Tigrem XX a nameless station XXV Hatris. The other route starts with Sirgora XII Zogorra X Vicat XII, and after passing two stations marked but left nameless leads on to Ad Herculem XXII Hatris. It is only this second and shorter route with which we are concerned : the map shows that the first which led to the Tigris involved a great detour. Sirgora and Zogorra must be slightly varied forms of the local names which more correctly appear as Singara and Zagurae on the first route ; for as pointed out by Professor Herzfeld,[2] Sigora is shown in the *Tabula* joined with a route line coming from Lacus Beberaci, the identity of which with Lake Khātūnīyah to the north-west of Balad Sinjār (Singara) is certain.

We are afforded an important indication for the second and more direct route by the station Zogorra being marked as the first stage. This station, otherwise Zagurac, has been

[1] Kiepert, *Forma Orbis antiqui*, v, p. 6. I owe this reference to Père Poidebard who before the start on my survey was kind enough to call my special attention to the need of tracing the direct route of the *Tabula* from Singara to Hatra.

[2] Loc. cit., ii, pp. 306 sq.

correctly identified by Professor Herzfeld with the large Roman Castrum he discovered at the springs of 'Aīn Sīnu near the eastern end of the Sinjār range.[1] Its direction from Balad Sinjār or Singara agrees very closely with the one on the caravan route connecting Balad Sinjār with the Tell A'far. This makes it clear that the route did not lead from Singara straight south-east through the desert to Hatra, but kept first eastwards along the much easier foot of the range; because, as the map shows, a route laid direct to Hatra or first to Shaikh Ibrāhīm would cross a succession of small streams in deep Wādis. The difficulties offered by these to transport with laden animals were brought home to me by my own experience. By following the foot of the range from Balad Sinjār to 'Aīn Sīnu the Roman route conveniently joined at 'Aīn Sīnu or Tell A'far the main line of ancient (and modern) caravan traffic towards Nisibis. The town of Tell A'far must at all times have been an important halting place. The strategic importance of 'Aīn Sīnu on a Roman road leading thence direct to Nisibis via Qohbol is attested by the size of its castrum.

The distance from Singara to Zagurac or Zogorra, actually about 21 miles as marked on the first route of the *Tabula*, figures wrongly as XII on the second, an instance of clerical error in the mileage only too frequent in other itineraries of the *Tabula*. I cannot here discuss whether by *Vicat* (shown as the next station beyond " Zogorra ") Tell A'far or Shaikh Ibrāhīm is intended. The two stages beyond Vicat are left nameless and I have no space here to consider their location. But if Vicat is placed at Tell A'far and the next two stages at Umm ash-Shinīn and Naddās we reach Jaddālah by three marches with distances easily covered by camels moving over desert ground. Convenient intermediate halting-places are found at Shaikh Ibrāhīm and Najmah.

Once arrived at Jaddālah we may claim to be on safe

[1] Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigris Gebiet*, ii, p. 307.

ground in the light both of the Roman itinerary to Hatra and of the remains of the site. Taking the *Tabula* we find that the distance of XXII millia passuum which it marks from Ad Herculem to Hatra is exactly the same as shown by the map between Jaddālah and Hatra. We can place all the more confidence on this agreement because the straight line between the two sites lies over flat ground presenting no obstacles of any sort.

Equally significant is the agreement between the designation Ad Herculem for this station in the *Tabula* and the character of the ruined site by the right bank of the Wādi Jaddālah. Obviously the station took its name from the shrine of some divinity which Greeks and Hellenized Orientals identified with Herakles. The station of the *Tabula* therefore has long been recognized in the 'Ηρακλέους Βωμοί which Ptolemy's *Geography* names in connection with Hatra.[1] In describing the ruined structure at Jaddālah I have referred to remains of columns, Hellenistic in style, on the eastern face of the circumvallation. The high mound which rises inside adjoining that face can safely be assumed to mark the position of a ruined temple of Parthian times built with a peristyle or colonnade in Hellenistic fashion. Definite proof of its character could be secured only by excavation. But the size of the circumvallation and the height of the debris mounds marking it clearly show that the structure within was important and that special care had been taken for its protection. Ptolemy's map, distorted as the relative positions are, places the "Altars of Herakles" on the route leading from Ctesiphon to Hatra. The mention of the place by Ptolemy indicates an importance due to the antiquity of its local worship or to the benefit it derived from the traffic which passed near it on the route to Hatra.

In conclusion I turn to Ammianus Marcellinus' account of the sorry retreat which in 363 took the Roman army of

[1] *Geographia*, V, viii, 1; VI, iii, 4; see also Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise*, ii, p. 307.

the Emperor Jovian over this desert ground. It is the last classical notice of Hatra. The army harassed by the Persians after reaching Dura insisted on crossing to the left bank of the Tigris in order to proceed by the route believed to be the nearest to the Roman frontier.[1] After a difficult crossing it "hastened on by rapid marches and approached Hatra, an ancient town in the middle of the desert long abandoned".[2]

When it was learned that over the vast plain extending thence for 70 miles in that arid region only brackish and fetid water could be found and for supplies only a variety of bitter herbs, vessels were filled with sweet water and camels and other beasts of burden were killed for food. "And when after six days' march not even grass, the solace of extreme necessity, could be found, there came Cassianus, Duke of Mesopotamia, and the Tribune Mauricius who had been sent forward for that purpose, to a Persian fort called Ur and brought some supplies which the troops left with Procopius and Sebastianus had saved by spare living."[3] Ammianus Marcellinus tells us how after these supplies had been exhausted, only the meat of the slaughtered animals averted famine, arms and baggage being abandoned by the famished troops. We are also told that "whenever a single bushel of corn was found (which seldom happened) it was sold for ten pieces of gold at least".[3] Marching thence the distressed army reached Thilsaphata where the Emperor was met by the chief officers in command of the troops protecting Mesopotamia. After this the army with all possible speed reached its eagerly sought goal Nisibis.

With our topographical knowledge we can follow what the soldier-historian tells of the retreat of Jovian's army through the desert. Dura where the Tigris was crossed has been rightly located by Professor Herzfeld at Dūr 'Arabāyā,

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, XV, vi, 9–11.

[2] Ibid., XXV, viii, 5. The translation of C. D. Younge (G. Bell and Sons, 1911) is quoted here and elsewhere with such slight modifications as the original wording justifies.

[3] Ibid., XXV, viii, 15.

at the northern end of the great ruined area on the river's left bank above Samarra.[1] From there the army by its rapid marches could well cover the distance of about 110 miles which separates Dura from Hatra in six days. To this portion of the retreat the words "et via sex dierum emensa" must refer. Owing to their apparent discrepancy the 70 miles mentioned as the extent of desert ground beyond Hatra seem to have puzzled interpreters.[2] In reality this rough estimate is proved to be quite correct by the map, whether measured from Hatra along the caravan route via Jaddālah to Tell A'far or straight through the desert to Balad Sinjār. These were the nearest two places where the desert ended and local supplies could be found for an army. The difficulty of securing these supplies at such small patches of cultivation as might have existed at Najmah, Naddās, and Umm ash-Shinīn would account for the exorbitant price mentioned for the little grain obtainable on the march. These considerations induce me to recognize in the ruined circumvallation of Jaddālah the "Persian fort Ur" to which supplies had been sent ahead from the Roman frontier to meet the army. This might well have been turned into a Persian frontier post after Hatra had been taken and destroyed about a century before Jovian's retreat. The Roman castellum is likely to have been abandoned at the same time.

There still remains the question as to the location of Thilsaphata where the commanders of the troops on the Mesopotamian *Limes* met the Emperor. Ritter already had rightly been guided to look for Thilsaphata on the direct route from Hatra to Nisibis and placed it at Tell A'far.[3] This location is confirmed by the line of Roman castella traced along the old caravan route from Hatra towards

[1] Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise*, i, p. 66, note 1.

[2] Thus it has been assumed that the indication of six days in the text refers to the whole march from Hatra to Nisibis, an impossible performance for an exhausted force over a distance of at least 220 miles (see *Archaeologische Reise*, iii, p. 306, n. 3).

[3] Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, p. 467.

Tell A'far. I have elsewhere shown that Tell A'far was an important place on the strong defensive line stretching along the Sinjār range from the Khābur River to the Tigris. This constituted a main section of the *Limes* proper of Roman Mesopotamia until Jovian ceded Singara and Nisibis to the Persians. The Emperor was met by the commanders of the frontier defences at Tell A'far because it was the meeting point of several main routes the guarding of which was essential as long as the Mesopotamian *Limes* was maintained to the east of Nisibis.

Indian Fables in Islamic Art

By HUGO BUCHTHAL

(PLATES II–V)

The Summary of a Lecture given on 4th March, 1941, under the joint auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Warburg Institute.

SELDOM has a work had such world-wide success and been translated into so many languages as the Indian stories and animal fables known as the *Panchatantra*.[1] In the sixth century of our era they were translated from Sanskrit into Pehlevi. Thence they passed into Arabic; and from the Arabic text, called by Muhammadans the Fables of Bidpai or the Book of Kalila wa Dimna, were made all those different versions through which these stories were transmitted to the countries of Europe.

It seems that the Pehlevi translation, now lost, was a fairly faithful reflection of the Indian prototype. This was not so with the Arabic. The translator, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mukaffa', was a man of distinguished literary abilities, and his translation, which contains a considerable element of undoubtedly Arab origin, is in itself a stylistic work of art.[2] He welded all the stories into a consistent whole, Islamic in character. His translation, which dates from the middle of the eighth century, is one of the earliest literary products in Arabic which have survived, and for many centuries it enjoyed an unequalled popularity throughout the Arabic-speaking world. It was, moreover, a book eminently suitable for illustration. Its vivid narrative appealed strongly to the imagination; similar texts had even before the rise of Islam frequently been illustrated in India as well as in the Hellenistic world; and it is not surprising that we find Kalila wa Dimna among the first illustrated Islamic books which have come down to us.

Every student of eastern art is aware that miniature-painting played a negligible rôle in medieval Islam as compared

[1] Cf. *Pantschatantra: fuenf Buecher indischer Fabeln. Aus dem Sanskrit uebersetzt v. Theodor Benfey*, 2 vols., 1859.

[2] Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 2nd ed., 1940, p. 308.

with Christian Europe. Its scope was infinitely more limited than in the West. Religious and theological works were never decorated with pictures, and even secular books with illustrations were not popular in Islamic civilization. The average Moslem. far from admiring such miniatures as he happened to come across, looked at them with aversion.[1] Thus, Islamic miniature-painting was bound to develop into an exclusive court-art. It was given a fair chance only when the caliph, or some prince or court official, wanted to live up to the standards of the rulers of Europe or Central Asia, and charged a painter, or a group of painters, whom he took under his protection, to illustrate his favourite works of literature. Generally, a large number of the books selected were of contemporary origin ; texts of which many illustrated copies exist from one century, were frequently dropped in the following.

These facts explain to a certain degree the differences in the development of Christian and Islamic miniature-painting. In Islam traditional representation could not play such a dominant part as in Christian art. We do not find that endless repetition of identical pictorial types and ready-made iconographical formulae through several centuries. In every period the task of the illustrator was new and different. There are only very few exceptions from this rule of constant change of the subject-matter. Perhaps the most conspicuous are illustrations of the Fables of Bidpai, which can be traced almost through the whole history of Islamic miniature-painting.

The earliest surviving Kalila wa Dimna manuscript with miniatures dates from the early thirteenth century of the Christian era, and probably comes from the court of some Muhammadan prince in Northern Syria.[2] As most of the Fables of Bidpai are animal stories, there is only limited

[1] Sir Thomas Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, 1928; pp. 45 f.

[2] On this and the following paragraph, cf. H. Buchthal, "Hellenistic Miniatures in early Islamic Manuscripts," in *Ars Islamica*, 7, 1940, pp. 125–133.

scope for the representation of human figures; but those miniatures which do show figures, betray at once that they owe their very existence to the Greek tradition of painting, as it survived in East Christian art. A Ḥarīrī manuscript in Paris, which is most closely related in style and date to our Bidpai manuscript, contains a number of miniatures that offer very similar and even better points of comparison with Christian works of art and are an additional proof of the foreign origin of this type of illustration.[1]

Within the framework of an Islamic manuscript these Christian influences appear remarkably classical in character—indeed almost more classical than miniatures of the same style would appear in Christian manuscripts. This classicism was transmitted to the Arabs through the intermediary of Byzantine painting. The compositions as a whole, the pictorial types, the style of the figures derive from Byzantine miniatures of the period of the Macedonian Renaissance, and are thus attached to the Christian Hellenistic tradition of the eastern Mediterranean. Such a development may well have started in Northern Syria which had for many centuries been a border-province between the Christian and Islamic worlds, and where from late antiquity onwards the classical tradition had always been very much alive. In those days, Islamic architecture and architectural ornament of the region round Aleppo, for instance, were strongly influenced by the remains of late antique and early Christian monuments on Syrian soil,[2] and it is quite conceivable that our group of miniatures should be attributed to a similar classicistic current. They are a provincial derivative of the Christian East rather than genuinely Islamic—they are, in their own way, at least as "Hellenistic" as contemporary illustrations of the Gospels in Byzantine or Syriac manuscripts.

[1] MS. arabe 6094, cf. the article mentioned in the preceding note.

[2] Cf. E. Herzfeld, "Mschattâ, Hîra, und Bâdiya, Die Mittelländer des Islam und ihre Baukunst," in *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 42, 1921, pp. 141 ff.

Throughout the greater part of the fourteenth century this art survives in a group of miniatures still in a sense pre-Mongol. It is the art of the Mamluks of Syria and Egypt.[1] For the miniatures were done in those Islamic countries which under the Mamluk sultans of Egypt withstood Mongol domination and thus kept out of the sphere of Mongol cultural influence. The chief subjects of this art in which the Mesopotamian style was transferred to Damascus and Cairo, were again Ḥarīrī and Bidpai manuscripts. But the miniature-painting was not of a very high standard; the old Mesopotamian models were copied in a stiff and heavy style, and though their clumsiness is not unattractive, they lack the charm of the originals. The compositions have become more schematic, and the rendering of the human figures and animals more limited in their movements. The old formulae for composition are adhered to as far as possible (Figs. 1, 2).[2] In a few miniatures only, the Mamluk artists distinctly deviate from their models; in the fable of the Lion and the Well, for example, where a different scene has been chosen for illustration,[3] or in a few instances where a Mamluk composition has no counterpart in the earlier Bidpai series and seems to have been copied from an illustration in some earlier Ḥarīrī manuscript. But on the whole this school is a rather poor continuation of the achievements of the preceding century. And it proved to be only a side-track. For the main development of Islamic style, we have again to turn to the East.

After the collapse of the Abbasid Empire under the merciless assault of the Mongols in 1258, Islamic book-illustration entered

[1] Cf. Kurt Holter, "Die fruehmamlukische Miniaturmalerei," in *Die graphischen Kuenste*, 2, 1937, pp. 2 ff.

[2] Fig. 1 is a miniature from the earliest Bidpai manuscript preserved, Paris arabe 3465, from the early thirteenth century, cf. K. Holter, "Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350," in *Zeitschrift f. Bibliothekswesen*, 1937, pp. 1 ff., no. 26; Fig. 2 is from a Mamluk copy, dated A.D. 1354, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, cf. Holter, *Miniaturhandschriften*, no. 80.

[3] Cf. E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, 1929, plates 14 and 18. Plate 14 is again from Paris arabe 3465, plate 18 from a fourteenth century Mamluk copy in Paris, arabe 3467; cf. Holter, *Miniaturhandschriften*, no. 78.

into a new phase which had hardly anything in common with the preceding age. The close relationship between the arts of Islam and eastern Christianity was for ever broken. But under the influence of Islam the Mongol princes residing in Persia and Mesopotamia soon became patrons of the arts and sciences, as enlightened as their predecessors the Abbasid caliphs had been. Miniature-painting continued to be a court-art such as it had been in earlier centuries. But at this phase Islamic art began to look to the East for inspiration and guidance. The new rulers brought with them the artistic traditions of Central Asia and China, and under these influences miniature-painting underwent a very thorough transformation. This applies not only to the style but to the subject-matter. Ḥarīrī manuscripts, for instance, disappeared from the pictorial repertoire of the Mongols. Kalila wa Dimna, on the other hand, is almost the only text which having enjoyed popularity in pre-Mongol times now held its position in the Mongol world throughout the fourteenth century. These manuscripts are Persian translations throughout, but their illustrations are based on the Arabic works of the thirteenth century. It seems that in Baghdad, Kalila wa Dimna manuscripts dating from Abbasid times were still available and became the source of inspiration for a whole series of Bidpai illustrations in the new Mongol style. An early example, written in Baghdad in A.D. 1280, shows how the old pictorial formulae were adapted to the new setting of Far Eastern origin.[1]

And this is still true of fourteenth century painting. The Mongol schools of illumination in Persia and Transoxania have produced Bidpai manuscripts in which the Abbasid pictorial tradition is seen to survive in an almost unbroken line, and this in spite of the completely different character of the new art and all the local differences between its schools

[1] Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. anc. f. pers. 376. Reproductions of the manuscript so far published are listed in Holter, *Miniaturhandschriften*, no. 51.

(Figs. 3, 4).[1] On the whole, traditional scenes are repeated in new landscape or architectural frames, and occasionally even details of the architectural features can only be explained as derivations from the pre-Mongol series (Fig. 5).[2] This tradition continues to the very end of the century: the miniatures in a Paris manuscript of about A.D. 1500, a late example of the Mongol group, still recall the corresponding illustrations in early works.[3] But occasionally we find miniatures alien to the pictorial tradition of the original set and deriving from a different repertoire. Even this can still be traced. The predominant position among illustrated Islamic manuscripts, which was in the thirteenth century held by the Maḳāmāt of Ḥarīrī, was from the fourteenth century onwards occupied by Firdausi's Shāh-nāmeh; and just as Ḥarīrī illustrations had served as models for some Bidpai miniatures of the Mamluk period, certain Mongol illustrations of our Fables seem to derive from contemporary Shāh-nāmeh manuscripts. Elaborate scenes of an enthroned ruler surrounded by his courtiers, for instance, which are not found in Arabic Bidpai manuscripts but occur regularly in Mongol works (Fig. 6), are obviously based on similar scenes in Shāh-nāmeh manuscripts where they are very frequent.[4]

In the East this tradition comes to an end in the fifteenth century. By then the Bidpai illustrations had fulfilled their

[1] Our illustrations show the Fable of the Crows and Owls in Paris arabe 3465 and in a Mongol manuscript, probably written in Tabriz (cf. K. Holter, *Miniaturhandschriften*, no. 63; E. Kuehnel, "A Bidpai manuscript of 1343–4 in Cairo," in *Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology*, 5, 1937, pp. 137 ff.).

[2] The miniature from the Cairo manuscript reproduced in Fig. 5 shows a cusped arch which seems to derive directly from a miniature in the thirteenth century Bidpai manuscript, cf. H. Buchthal, "'Hellenistic' Miniatures," fig. 31.

[3] MS. Paris, Bibl. Nat., anc. f. pers. 377; cf. Blochet, *Painting*, pls. 66, 67. The right date of this manuscript has for the first time been suggested by Kuehnel, "A Bidpai Manuscript," p. 141.

[4] Our Fig. 6, again from the Cairo manuscript, should be compared with Shāh-nāmeh miniatures such as Blochet, *Painting*, pl. 47.

historic mission: to establish a link between pre-Mongol and Mongol miniature-painting in Islamic countries. Hardly any Bidpai manuscripts of a later date exist at all from Syria, Persia, or Egypt. But about this time the tradition was taken up in Europe, translations into many national languages were made from the Latin version,[1] and Germany even produced illustrated manuscripts and printed books with woodcuts which show that the artists must have known Islamic Bidpai miniatures.[2] Soon the whole of Europe was familiar with these stories from the East which were used and remodelled by innumerable authors and writers throughout the Christian world.

It is curious that the Fables of Bidpai spread not only to the West, but also eastwards back to India. So after a migration of a thousand years Kalila wa Dimna returned to its country of origin. When in the sixteenth century descendants of Timur conquered Afghanistan and Northern India and established themselves as sultans in Delhi, they brought with them the cultural and artistic traditions of Islamic Persia. Several extant Bidpai manuscripts, in the Persian translation known as Anvār i Suhailī, were illustrated at the Imperial court. The miniatures are entirely in the Persian tradition, quite as Islamic in character as their predecessors from Tabriz, Herat, and Samarcand had been; they do not in the least betray that the greater part of their subject-matter was ultimately not of Islamic, but of Indian origin, and to a certain extent even had its own artistic tradition on Indian soil. Quite a number of the stories of the *Panchatantra* had in earlier times been represented by Buddhist and Hindu

[1] Cf. the comparative table of the Panchatantra versions in *The Ocean of Story*, ed. Penzer, vol. v, p. 242.

[2] Among illustrated manuscripts, we may cite, for instance, Heidelberg, pal. germ. 84, 85, 466; cf. Hans Wegener, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis d. deutschen Bilder-Handschriften des spaeten Mittelalters i.d. Heidelberger Universitaetsbibliothek*, 1927, pp. 91 ff.; on woodcuts, cf., for instance, Ernst Weil, *Der Ulmer Holzschnitt im 15. Jahrhundert*, 1923, pp. 43 ff.

artists on Indian monuments [1]; but no connection exists between such medieval examples and Mughal painting. Most of these miniatures which bear signatures of well-known artists working at the court of Akbar and Jahangir, are a direct continuation of the pictorial tradition still alive from Mongol times.[2] Our reproduction shows the illustration of the Fable of the Fox crushed between the fighting Goats, from the British Museum manuscript Add. 18579 (Fig. 8), which even repeats a formula found already in the earliest Arabic manuscript of the series (Fig. 7).

Benfey's brilliant introduction to his edition of the *Panchatantra*, which was published nearly a hundred years ago,[3] was the first of a number of very learned books devoted to the study of the literary tradition of these fables through the ages. The few selected examples of Bidpai illustrations mentioned in this article should be evidence that, within the Islamic world, there existed also a representational tradition for the *Panchatantra*, a tradition that comes into being as a side-track of East Christian Hellenism and remains intrinsically the same, even though the cultural aspects under which it appears are continually changing. Our series is one of the very few examples in Islamic art where the origin and survival of a representational tradition can be shown to continue over a period of several hundred years.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES.

FIG. 1.—The Hermit in his home. Paris, Bibl. Nat., arabe 3465.
FIG. 2.—The Hermit in his home. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Pococke 400.
FIG. 3.—The Crows and the Owls. Paris, Bibl. Nat., arabe 3465.
FIG. 4.—The Crows and the Owls. Cairo, Bibl. Egypt., 61 adab.
FIG. 5.—The Husband beating the Thief. Cairo, Bibl. Egypt., 61 adab.
FIG. 6.—The King with his courtiers. Cairo, Bibl. Egypt., 61 adab.
FIG. 7.—The Fox crushed between the Goats. Paris, Bibl. Nat., arabe 3465.
FIG. 8.—The Fox crushed between the Goats. London, Brit. Mus., Add. 18579.

[1] Well-known early examples at Barhut; cf. L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, 1929, pl. 24 ff.; on medieval frescoes, cf. Stella Kramrisch, "A Painted Ceiling," in *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 7, 1939, pp. 175–182.

[2] Cf. J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The Lights of Canopus*, London, 1929.

[3] See note 1, p. 317.

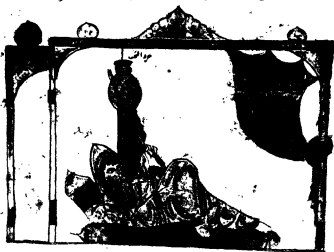



FIG. 1.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.

Alphabetical List of Directors of the East India Company from 1758 to 1858

COMPILED BY C. H. AND D. PHILIPS.

THE only existing alphabetical list of East India directors for the period 1758–1858 was prepared and published in 1885 by Charles Prinsep in his book, *The Services of Madras Civilians*. Unfortunately it is an extremely inaccurate list, mistakes in the directors' years of service having been made in a great number of cases. Among other errors, Prinsep endowed two of the directors, John Smith Burgess and William Thornton Astell, with dual personalities; the two David Scotts, on the other hand, he treated as one; and although going so far as to invent one director, Joseph Bosanquet, he omitted at least five others—R. Atkinson, A. Campbell, G. Johnstone, R. Jones, L. Peel.

Before 1774 the twenty-four directors of the Company were elected yearly in April by the proprietors of India stock, the chairman and deputy chairman being chosen by the directors from among their own number at the first meeting following the election. The directors were elected from the body of proprietors, and no proprietor could be chosen director who was not a natural-born subject of England or naturalized and had not in his own right and for his own use £2,000 or more of India stock. A director who allowed his stockholding to fall below that amount automatically disqualified himself from the direction. Disqualification, incidentally, was the accepted mode of retirement or resignation.

From April, 1774, the system of election was changed, Lord North's Regulating Act of the previous year having enacted that no director who had served for four years could be re-elected until he should have been one year out of the direction. It was provided that at the general election of April, 1774, six directors should be chosen for four years,

six for three, six for two years, and six for one year. Subsequently at each annual election six directors were chosen for the term of four years in the room of the six "going out by rotation". In the event of the death, disqualification, or removal of a director, his successor took over the unexpired term of office.

The Charter Act of 1853 reduced the number of directors to eighteen and provided that six of these should be nominated by the Crown.

The East India Company gave the Royal Asiatic Society generous financial support, and many of the Company's servants and directors became members and councillors, so that the following list may have special interest. In it the figures indicate the year of election to the Court of Directors and, unless the name of the month in any particular year is given, the month is assumed to be that of April. It is important to remember that throughout the period the year of office was from April to the following April. When a span of years is shown the election dates given are inclusive. For example, let us take the case of Patrick Vans Agnew, the first person on the list: he was first elected (in the place of John Baillie) in May, 1833, was "out by rotation" from April, 1834, to April, 1835, was re-elected in April, 1835, April, 1836, April, 1837, and April, 1838, was again "out by rotation" from April, 1839, to April, 1840, was re-elected in April, 1840, April, 1841, and April, 1842; and died in June, 1842.

An asterisk placed after a year indicates that the director concerned was elected deputy chairman for that year, two asterisks, that he was chosen chairman, three, that he was first elected deputy and later in the same year appointed chairman. The abbreviations d., disq., respectively stand for died, disqualified.

This list has been compiled from MSS. records, in particular the Court Minutes and Home Miscellaneous Series, volume 764, at the India Office, amplified and checked by information mainly taken from the *Annual Register*, the *Asiatic Annual*

Register, the *Asiatic Journal*, the *Court and City Register*, the *East India Register*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *London Chronicle*, and the *Royal Kalendar*.

Names.	*Period of Service as Director.*
Agnew, Patrick Vans	May, 1833, 35–8, 40–2, d. June, 1842.
Alexander, Josias du Pré	August, 1820–2, 24–7, 29–32, 34–7, 39, d. August, 1839.
Alexander, Henry	March, 1826–26, 28–31, 33–6, 38–41, 43–6, 48–51, 53, d. January, 1861.
Allan, Alexander	1814–17, 19–20, d. October, 1820.
Amyand, George	1760, 63, d. August, 1766.
Astell, William Thornton	January, 1800–1800, 02–05, 07–09*–10**, 12–15, 17–20, 22–3*–4**–5, 27–8**–9*–30**, 32–5, 37–40, 42–5, d. March, 1847.
Astell, John Harvey	July, 1851, 52–8.
Atkinson, Richard	January, 1784–84–5, d. June, 1785.
Baillie, John	May, 1823, 25–8, 30–3, d. May, 1833.
Bannerman, John Alexander	1808–11, 13–16, disq. March, 1817.
Baring, Francis	1779–82, 84–7, 89–91*–2**, 94–7, 99–1802, 04–07, 09–10, d. October, 1810.
Baron, Christopher	1759, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, d. November, 1767.
Barrington, Fitzwilliam	1759, 61, 62, 65, 66, 67.
Barwell, William	1758, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66.
Bayley, William Butterworth	July, 1833–5, 37–9*–40**, 42–5, 47–50, 52–8, d. May, 1860.
Bebb, John	November, 1804, 06–09, 11–14, 16*–17**–19, 21–4, 26–9, disq. April, 1830.
Becher, Richard	1775–8, 80, disq. March, 1781.
Bensley, William	October, 1781–4, 86–9, 91–4, 96–9, 1801–4, 06–09, d. January, 1810.
Boddam, Charles	1769, 72, 73, 74–5, 77–80, 82–4, d. December, 1784.

Names.	*Period of Service as Director.*
Boehm, Edmund	1784–7, d. 1787.
Booth, Benjamin	1767, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 75–8, 80–3, d. April, 1807.
Bosanquet, Jacob (1)	1759.
Bosanquet, Jacob (2)	August, 1782–3, 85–8, 90–3, 95–7*–8**, 1800–02*–03**, 05–08, 10*–11**–12**–13, 15–18, 20–3, 25–6, disq. March, 1827.
Bosanquet, Richard	1768, 69, 71, 72.
Boulton, Henry Crabb	1758, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64*, 65**, 67, 68**, 69, 70, 72, 73**, d. October, 1773.
Boyd, John	1758, 59*, 60, 61, 63, 64, d. August, 1766.
Browne, John	1758, 59, 60, 62, 63.
Bryant, Jeremiah	February, 1841–41, 43–5, d. June, 1845.
Burgess, John Smith	1773, 74, 76–9, 81–4, 86–9, 91**–2*–4, 96–9, 1801–3, d. May, 1803.
Burrow, Christopher	1758, 60, 61.
Burrow, Robert	1762, 63, 64.
Campbell, Archibald M.	February, 1796–96, d. Sept., 1796.
Campbell, Robert	July, 1817, 19–22, 24–7, 29–30*–31**–32, 34–7, 39–42, 44–7, 49–52, d. 1858.
Carnac, James Rivett	March, 1827–27–28, 30–3, 35*–6**–7**–8, disq. December, 1838.
Caulfield, James	1848–51, d. November, 1852.
Chambers, Charles (1)	1763, 64, 65, 66, 68.
Chambers, Charles (2)	1770, 73.
Cheap, Thomas	Aug, 1777, 78, 80–3, 85–8, 90–3*.
Clarke, William Stanley	March, 1815–15–16, 18–21, 23–6, 28–31, 33–4*–5**–6, 38–41, 43, d. January, 1844.
Clerk, Robert	July, 1812, 14–15, d. July, 1815.
Cockburn, James	1767, 68, 70, 71.
Colebrooke, George	1767, 68*, 69**, 70**, 72**.
Cotton, John	April, 1833–33–34, 36–9, 41–2*–3**–4, 46–9, 51–3, d. July, 1860.

Names.	*Period of Service as Director.*
Cotton, Joseph	1795–8, 1800–3, 05–08, 10–13, 15–18, 20–3, disq. May, 1823.
Creed, James	1758, 61, d. February, 1762.
Creswicke, Joseph	1765, 66, 67, 68, d. June, 1772.
Cruttenden, Edward Holden	1765, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, d. June, 1771.
Cuming, George	1764, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, December 73, 74–7, 79–82, 85–7, d. December, 1787.
Currie, Frederick	1854–6, 57*, 58**, d. September, 1875.
Cust, Peregrine	1767, 68, 69*.
Cutts, Charles	1758, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66.
Daniell, James	October, 1809, 11–14, 16–19, 21–4, resigned April, 1825.
Darell, Lionel	1780–3, 85–8, 90–3, 95–8, 1800–3, d. October, 1803.
Davis, Samuel	October, 1810–12, 14–17, 19, d. July, 1819.
Dempster, George	1769, 72, d. February, 1818.
Dent, William	January, 1851–51–53, d. December, 1877.
Dethick, Thomas	1772.
Devaynes, William	1770, 71, 72, 73, 74–5, 77*–8–9*–80**, 82–3*–4*–5**, 87–8*–9**–90*, 92–3**–4**–5, 97–1800, 02–05, defeated April, 1807.
Dorrien, John	1758, 60, 61, 62*, 63**.
Drake, Roger	1758*, d. June, 1762.
Ducane, Peter	1764, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73.
Dudley, George	1758, 59, 60, 62, 64, 65*, 66**, 67, 70, 71*, d. November, 1777.
Dupré, Josias	1765, 66, d. October, 1780.
Eastwick, William Joseph	June, 1847, 49–52, 54–8*.
Edmonstone, Neil Benjamin	October, 1820–2, 24–7, 29–32, 34–7, 39–41, d. June, 1841.
Ellice, Russell	February, 1831, 32–5, 37–40, 42–5, 47–50, 52*–3**, 54–8.
Elphinstone, William Fullarton	December, 1786–9, 91–4, 96–9, 1801–04**, 06**–09, 11–13*–14**, 16–19, 21–4, resigned April, 1825.

Names.	*Period of Service as Director.*
Ewer, Walter	December, 1790, 92–4, disq. April, 1795.
Farquhar, Robert Townsend	March, 1826–26–28, d. March, 1830.
Fergusson, Robert Cutlar	February, 1830–30–31, 33–5, disq. June, 1835.
Fitzhugh, Thomas	August, 1785, 87–90, 92–5, 97–9, d. January, 1800.
Fletcher, Henry	1769, 71, 72, 73, 74–5, 77–80, 82***–83**, resigned November, 1783.
Forbes, John	April, 1830, 31–4, 36–9, d. February, 1846.
Fraser, Simon	February, 1791–91, 93–6, 98–1801, 03–06, d. 1807.
Freeman, William George	1769, 74–6, 78–81.
Galloway, Archibald	September, 1840, 42–5, 47–8*–49**–50, d. April, 1850.
Gildart, Richard	1759.
Godfrey, Peter	1759**, 60.
Gough, Charles	1759, 60, 61, 62, d. February, 1774.
Grant, Charles	May, 1794–5, 97–1800, 02–04*–05**, 07*–08*–09**–10, 12–15**, 17–20, 22–3, d. October, 1823.
Gregory, Robert	1769, 70, 71, 72, 75–8, 80–2**, resigned August, 1782.
Hadley, Henry	1758, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65.
Hall, Richard	1773, 74, 76–9, 81–4, 86, d. December, 1786.
Harrison, John	1758, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73*, 74*–5**–7, 79–82.
Harrison, Samuel	1759, 61, 62, d. May, 1765.
Hawkesworth, John	1773, d. November, 1773.
Hogg, James Weir	September, 1839–42, 44–5*–6**–7, 49–50*–1*–2**, 54–8, d. May, 1876.
Hudleston, John	1803–6, 08–11, 13–16, 18–21, 23–5, disq. March, 1826.
Hunter, John	1781–4, 86–9, 91–4*, 96–9, 1801–2, d. January, 1803.
Hurlock, Joseph	1768, 70, 71, 72, 73.

Names.	*Period of Service as Director.*
Inglis, Hugh	1784–7, 89–92, 94–6*–7**, 99*–1800**–02, 04–07, 09–11*–12*, d. 1812.
Inglis, John	May, 1803–04, 06–09, 11–14*, 16–19, 21–2, d. August, 1822.
Irwin, James	April, 1795, 97, d. March, 1798.
Jackson, John	1807–10, 12–15, 17–20, d. June, 1820.
Jackson, William Adair	January, 1803–03–04, d. Nov., 1804.
James, William	1768, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74–6*, 78*–9**–80–1*, 83, d. December, 1783.
Jenkins, Richard	June, 1832–5, 37–8*–9**–40, 42–5, 47–50, 52–3, d. December, 1853.
Johnstone, George	January, 1784–84–85, d. 1787.
Jones, Robert	1765, 66, 67, 68, d. February, 1774.
Lascelles, Peter	1770, 72, 73, 74–5.
Lemesurier, Paul	1784–7, 89–92, 94–7, 99–1802, 04–05, d. December, 1805.
Lindsay, Hugh	1814–17, 19–22, 24–6*–7**, 29–32, 34–7, 39–42, 44, d. May, 1844.
Loch, John	1821–4, 26–8*–9**, 31–3**–4, 36*–9, 41–4, 46–9, 51–3.
Lumsden, John	January, 1817, 18, d. December, 1818.
Lushington, James Law	July, 1827–8, 30–3, 35–7*–8**, 40–1*–2**–3, 45–7*–8**, 50–3, d. May, 1859.
Lushington, Stephen	1782–5, 87–9*–90**, 92–5**, 97–8*–9**–1800, 02–05, d. January, 1807.
Lyall, George	1830–3, 35–8, 40*–1**–3, 45–8, 50, disq. January, 1851.
Macnaghten, Elliot	June, 1842–3, 45–8, 50–3, 54*, 55**, 56–8.
Mangles, Ross Donnelly	1847–50, 52–3, 54, 55, 56*, 57**, 58, d. August, 1877.
Manship, John	1758, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, December 73,

Names.	*Period of Service as Director.*
	74–7, 79–82, 84–7, 89–92, 94–7, 99–1802, 04–07, 09, disq. May, 1809.
Marjoribanks, Campbell . .	1807–10, 12–15, 17–18*–19**–20, 22–4*–5**, 27–30, 32*–3**–5, 37–40, d. September, 1840.
Marjoribanks, Dudley Coutts .	1853.
Masterman, John . . .	November, 1823–5, 27–30, 32–5, 37–40, 42–5, 47–50, 52–3.
Melville, William Henry Leslie .	July, 1845–6, 48–51, 53–5.
Metcalfe, Thomas Theophilus .	1789–92, 94–7, 99–1802, 04–07, 09–12, d. November, 1813.
Michie, John	1770, 71, 72, 73, 74–5, 77–80, 83–6**, 88*, d. November, 1788.
Millet, George . . .	January, 1806–06–07, 09–12, d. 1812.
Mills, Charles (1) . . .	August, 1785–6, 88–91, 93–6, 98–1801***, 03–06, 08–11, 13–14, disq. March, 1815.
Mills, Charles (2) . . .	August, 1822–4, 26–9, 31–4, 36–9, 41–4, 46–9, 51–8, d. 1872.
Mills, William . . .	1778–81, 83–5, disq. August, 1785.
Moffat, James . . .	1774–7, 79–82, December 1784–5, 87–90, d. December, 1790.
Money, William . . .	1789–92, 94–5, d. February, 1796.
Money, William Taylor . .	December, 1818, 20–3, 25, disq. March, 1826.
Moore, James Arthur . .	May, 1850, 52–3, d. July, 1860.
Morris, John	1814–17, 19–22, 24–7, 29–32, 34–7, disq. January, 1838.
Motteux, John . . .	1769, 1784–6*–7**.
Muspratt, John Petty . .	March, 1824, 25–8, 30–3, 35–8, 40–3, 45–8, 50–3, d. August, 1855.
Newnham, Nathaniel . .	1758, d. February, 1760.
Oliphant, James . . .	January, 1844–44–46, 48–51, 53*, 54**, 55–6, disq. April, 1857.

Names.	*Period of Service as Director.*
Pardoe, John	1765, 66, 67, 68.
Parry, Edward . . .	April, 1797–97–98, 1800–03, 05–06*–07**–08**, 10–13, 15–18, 20–3, 25–7, d. July, 1827.
Parry, Richard . . .	August, 1815–17, d. July, 1817.
Parry, Thomas . . .	October, 1781, 83–6, 88–91, 93–6, 98–1801, 03–06, d. 1806.
Pattison, James . . .	March, 1805, 06–09, 11–14, 16–17*–18**–19, 21*–2**–4, 26–7*–9, disq. April, 1830.
Pattle, Thomas . . .	1787–90, 92–4, disq. April, 1795.
Peach, Samuel . . .	1773, 74, 76–9, 81, disq. October, 1781.
Peel, Laurence . . .	1857, d. July, 1884.
Phipps, Thomas . . .	1758.
Pigou, Frederick . . .	1758, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74–7.
Plant, Henry	1758.
Plowden, Richard Chicheley .	1803–06, 08–11, 13–16, 18–21, 23–6, 28–9, d. February, 1830.
Plowden, William Henry Chicheley	1841–4, 46–9, 51–3, d. March, 1880.
Pollock, George . . .	1854–5, 58, d. October, 1872.
Prescott, Charles Elton . .	June, 1820, 22–5, 27–30, 32, d. June, 1832.
Prinsep, Henry Thoby . .	July, 1850–1, 53–8, d. February, 1878.
Purling, John . . .	1763, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70*, 71**, 77–80.
Raikes, George . . .	March, 1817, 18–21, 23–6, 28–31, 33–6, disq. July, 1836.
Ravenshaw, John Goldsborough	July, 1819–22, 24–7, 29–31*–2**, 34–7, 39–40, d. June, 1840.
Rawlinson, Henry Creswicke .	1856–8, d. March, 1895.
Raymond, John . . .	1758, 59, 60, d. 1768.
Reid, Thomas . . .	November, 1803, 05–08, 10–13, 15*–16**–18, 20*–1**–3, d. March, 1824.

Names.	*Period of Service as Director.*
Robarts, Abraham . . .	March, 1786–86, 88–91, 93–6, 98–1801, 03–06, 08–11, 13–15, disq. October, 1815.
Roberts, John . . .	1764, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 75*–6**–8, November, 80–3, 85–8, 90–3, 95–8, 1800–01*–02**–03*, 05–08, d. February, 1810.
Robertson, Archibald . .	June, 1841–2, 44–7, d. June, 1847.
Robinson, George Abercrombie	1808–11, 13–16, 18–19*–20**–1, 23–5*–6**, 28, disq. March, 1829.
Rooke, Giles	1758, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64.
Rous, Thomas, . . .	1758, 60*, 61*, 62**, 64**, 65, 66*, 67**, 70, 71, d. July, 1771.
Rous, Thomas Bates . .	1773, 74, 76–9.
Rumbold, Thomas . . .	1772, 75–6–7, res. August, 1777.
Saunders, Thomas . . .	1765, 66, 67*.
Savage, Henry . . .	1758, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74–7, 79–82.
Scott, David (1) . . .	December, 1788–91, 93–5*–6**, 98–1800*–01**, resigned April, 1802.
Scott, David (2) . . .	1814–17, 19–20, disq. August, 1820.
Scrafton, Luke . . .	1765, 66, 67, 68.
Seward, Richard . . .	1759, 61, 62, 63.
Shank, Henry . . .	1831–4, 36–9, 41–4, 46–9, 51–3.
Shepherd, John . . .	June, 1835–6, 38–41, 43*–4**–6, 48–9*–50**–51**, 53–8, d. January, 1859.
Smith, George . . .	April, 1795, 97–1800, 02–05*, 07–10, 12–15, 17–20, 22–5, 27–30, 32–3, disq. July, 1833.
Smith, Martin Tucker . .	December, 1838, 40–3, 45–8, 50–8, d. October, 1880.
Smith, John	*See* Burgess, John Smith.
Smith, Joshua . . .	1771, 72, d. July, 1775.

Names.	*Period of Service as Director.*
Smith, Nathaniel	1774–5, 77–80, 82*–3***–4**–5*, 87*–8**–90, 92–4, d. May, 1794.
Smith, Richard	1759, 60, 61, 62, 64.
Smith, Samuel	1783–6, disq. July, 1786.
Snell, William	1762, 63, 64, 67, 68, 69.
Sparkes, Joseph	1773, 74, 76–9, 81–4, 86–9, d. March, 1790.
Stables, John	1774–6, 78–81, disq. October, 1781.
Steevens, George	1758, 59, 60, 62, 63, d. 1763.
Stephenson, John	1765, 66, 67, 68, d. April, 1794.
Stuart, James	1826–9, 31–2, d. April, 1833.
Sulivan, Laurence	1758**, 60**, 61**, 63*, 64, 69, 71, 72*, 78–80*–81**, 83–5, d. February, 1786.
Sykes, William Henry	July, 1840–2, 44–7, 49–52, 54–5*–6**–8, d. June, 1872.
Tatem, George	1772, 73, 74, 76–9, 81–4, July, 1786, 88–91, 93–6, 98–1801, d. July, 1807.
Taylor, John Bladen	January, 1810, 11–14, 16–19, d. 1819.
Thelusson, George Woodford	September, 1796–7, 99–1802, 04–07, d. December, 1811.
Thornhill, John	October, 1815–16, 18–21, 23–6, 28–31, 33–6, 38–40, d. February, 1841.
Thornton, Robert	December, 1787–8, 90–3, 95–8, 1800–03, 05–08, 10–13**, disq. April, 1814.
Thornton, William (1)	1759, 61, 62, 63, 64.
Thornton, William (2)	*See* Astell, William Thornton.
Toone, Sweny	March, 1798–98–1800, 02–05, 07–10, 12–15, 17–20, 22–5, 27–30, disq. February, 1881.
Townson, John	March, 1781, 81–3, 85–8, 90–3, 95–6, d. April, 1797.
Travers, John	1786–9, 91–4, 96–9, 1801–04, 06–09, d. October, 1809.
Tucker, Henry St. George	1826–9, 31–3*–4**, 36–9, 41–4, 46*–7**–9, 51, d. June, 1851.
Tullie, Timothy	1758, 60, 61, 62, 63, d. August, 1765.
Twining, Richard	1810–13, 15–16, disq. January, 1817.

Names.	*Period of Service as Director.*
Vansittart, Henry	1769, d. 1770.
Verelst, Harry	1771, d. 1785.
Vivian, John Hussey	1856–8.
Walton, Bourchier	1759, 60, 61, 62, d. June, 1779.
Ward, Edward	1762, d. September, 1762.
Warden, Francis	July, 1836, 38–41, 43–6, 48–50, disq. July, 1850.
Warner, Richard	1760, 61, 62, 63.
Waters, Thomas	1759, 60, 61, 62, d. September, 1764.
Webber, William	1762, 63, 64, 65, d. April, 1779.
Wheler, Edward	1765, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73**, 74**–6.
Whiteman, John Clarmont	May, 1844–7, 49–52, d. August, 1866.
Wier, Daniel	1768, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74–6.
Wigram, William	May, 1809–12, 15–18, 20–2*–3**, 25–8, 30–3*, 35–8, 40–3, 45–8, 50–3.
Wilkinson, Jacob	1782–3, resigned November, 1783.
Williams, Stephen	March, 1790, 91–4, 96–9, 1801–04, d. March, 1805.
Willock, Henry	January, 1838, 39–42, 44*–5**–7, 49–52, 54–8.
Willoughby, John Pollard	1854–8, d. September, 1866.
Wombwell, George	1766, 67, 68, 75–7**–8**, 80, d. November, 1780.
Woodhouse, John	1768, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74–6, 78–81, January, 1784–84–86, 88–90, disq. February, 1791.
Williams, Robert	1809–12, d. July, 1812.
Young, William	March, 1829–29–31, 33–6, 38–41, 43–6.

The Puranic Line of Heroes

By W. RUBEN

(Concluded from p. 256)

§ 9. Somavaṁśa II. The successor of King Yayāti was his son Pūru, whose line of descent follows in Mbh, i, 89; H, 31; and B, 12. Even in details the similarity of the narratives is great. But the end is very confused in Mbh (i, 89). Only H (Kirfel, 555), has carried on the line up to Janamejaya (cf. Mbh, i, 90, 85 sqq.; Vi, iv, 20, 12), and even further. The ślokas of B (Kirfel, 555, 128, 1 sqq.) are to be found in H, too (184, 3–18; not noticed by Kirfel), and must belong therefore to the original H-B vaṁśa.

But in the other Purāṇas, which Kirfel follows, the descents of Yadu (Kirfel, 410 sqq.), Turvasu (Kirfel, 521), Druhyu (Kirfel, 522), and Anu (Kirfel, 523 sqq.), precede the line of Pūru (Kirfel, 536 sqq.). The lines of these first four sons of Yayāti are missing in Mbh,[1] because they were of no importance as regards the story of the Bharatas, but in H they were of especial importance, because Kṛṣṇa was a Yādava. Hence H has added the lines of Yadu, etc., to the line of the Pauravas as found in the Mbh, and there is no doubt that the order in H-B is older than that in Bḍ-Vā.[2]

Even in details one should follow H-B. For instance, some lines missing in Bḍ-Vā should be regarded as old ones (Kirfel, 537, 8, 1–6; 538, 11, 1; 539, 14, 1; 542, 37, 1–2, etc.), and the readings of H-B should be preferred. According to H-B the whole text of the vaṁśa is concluded by Kṛṣṇa's story of the gem Syamantaka (H, 38, 10–39 = B, 16, 9–17; Kirfel, 437 sqq.), which in Bḍ-Vā is told long before the birth of Kṛṣṇa (Kirfel, 472 sqq.).

[1] On the contrary the line of Pūru, etc., is missing in Saurapurāṇa, 31, 8 sqq. There only Yadu and his descent is to be found.

[2] It is hardly understandable why Kirfel follows here Bḍ–Vā, when he always recognizes the validity of H-B.

The old and original order of the vaṁśa was therefore :—

(1) Pūru's descent (Kirfel, 536 sqq.).

(2) Turvasu's, Druhyu's, and Anu's descendants (Kirfel, 521 sqq.). But there is no reason to believe that the line of men who were regarded as descendants of Kakṣeyu in H, 31, 18–60, and B, 13, 14*cd*–49, and belong to the line of the Pauravas (Kirfel, 536, 5), should be regarded as successors of Anu in accordance with Bḍ-Vā-Mt (Kirfel, 523, 12–115). The story of King Bali [1] and the sage Dīrghatamas in Bḍ-Vā-Mt (Kirfel, 526 sqq.) has been taken from Mbh, i, 98 (not noticed by Kirfel). But in view of its absence from H-B it seems to be a late quotation in Bḍ-Vā-Mt.

(3) Yadu's descendants. (*a*) From his oldest son Sahasrāda (Kirfel, 410 sqq.) up to Arjuna Kārttavīrya. There follows a short explanation of the names Vṛṣṇi, Mādhava, Yādava, and Haihaya and a *śravaṇaphala* (only in H-B: Kirfel, 421, 58, 2–5).

(*b*) From Yadu's third son Kroṣṭṛ descended Yudhājit, etc., by his wife Mādrī (H, 34, 1–16 = B, 14, 1–13 : Kirfel, 449 sqq., with another commencement). Kirfel omits H, 34, 1–2; according to his table on p. xxxix it (H, 1906–7) should be found between 446, 75, and 449, 1.

(*c*) But from Kroṣṭṛ by his wife Aśmakī descended Śūra, his ten sons Vasudeva, etc., and his five daughters Pṛthā, etc. (H, 34, 17–29*ab* = B, 14, 14–24*ab* : Kirfel, 456, 41–51).

(*d*) From Anamitra, son of Kroṣṭṛ by Gāndhārī, descended among others Sātyakī (H, 34, 29*cd* sq. = B, 14, 24*cd* sq. : Kirfel, 449, 1).[2] Thereafter follows the offspring of the other sons of Vasudeva (H, 34, 31–9 = B, 14, 25*cd*–34*ab* : Kirfel, 461, 65–71).

(*e*) The sons of Vasudeva (H, 34, 40–35, 12*ab* = B, 14,

[1] Cf. the author's remarks in *Anthropos*, 1939, p. 467.

[2] In H, 34, 29 (Kirfel, 449, 1) Anamitra is called the youngest offshoot of the Vṛṣṇi race. But Nīlakaṇṭha gives another interpretation saying: "He was the eldest son of Kroṣṭṛ" (by Gāndhārī) in accordance with H, 34, 1. But according to H, 38, 12 (Kirfel, 436, 17) Mādrī gave birth to Anamitra. The line is slightly confused.

34cd–46; Kirfel, 458, 51, 2–60). It follows a short notice that Vṛkadevī, one of the wives of Vasudeva, was a daughter of the King of the Trigartas. The priest (*bhartā* = *purohita*: Nīl. on H, 35, 12) of this king, the sage Gārgya (Śiśirāyaṇa), begot the famous Kālayavana (Kirfel, 463, 71, 1–10: H-B).

This story of Gārgya has been told in a different way in B, 196, 1 sqq., in a passage of Kṛṣṇa's life-story, where H (112, 1 sqq.) corresponds better to this version in the vaṁśa than B.

(*f*) Kroṣṭṛ had another son Vṛjinīvant, whose mother is not known. This passage looks like a later addition (H. 36–38, 8 = B, 15–16, 8: Kirfel, 424, 3–436, 18, continued in 452, 16–456, 40). Nīlakaṇṭha, commenting on H, 36, 1, says that the purpose of this chapter is to deal with the line of Rukmiṇī, and in fact her family, though not Rukmiṇī herself, is named. Later in this line follow Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi as sons of Sattvān (H, 37, 2, etc.), who had been referred to before as sons of Mādrī. This all looks very incorrect, but we do not know if there was any older text with a better order.

(*g*) The last chapter also begins in an unorderly way. It commences by repeating the first two ślokas of B, 14 (cf. (*b*) *supra*), dealing with Kroṣṭṛ, his wife Mādrī, and his grandson (?) Anamitra (H, 38, 10–40 = B, 16, 9–17, 40: Kirfel, 436, 18–445, 74). The latter's grandson was Prasena, who received the gem Syamantaka from his friend, the Sungod. The story of the gem is contained in the last chapter; there must have been some reason why it was not put into the biography of Kṛṣṇa in H-B, as is the case later in P, Bh, Vai.[1] Perhaps its blaming of Kṛṣṇa was not held worthy of the hero.

This is the order of the two oldest texts of the vaṁśa and it is not illogical in general, especially if we consider how difficult it was to put into good order this enormous mass of genealogical material. It is true that, for instance, the birth of Devakī (B, 15, 57, etc.), is told only after her marriage

[1] P, 276, 5 sqq.; Bh, x, 56–7; Vai, 122.

(B, 14, 38, etc.), but every Hindu knew her famous name. There was no room for misunderstanding when she was mentioned among the wives of Vasudeva.[1] It is true that in H-B some passages are repeated twice, as hinted by Kirfel on p. xxxix, but it is an exaggeration to say with Kirfel, p. xl, that the lines of the Yādavas and Pauravas have been mixed up sometimes to such a degree that the sense cannot be understood. If anybody thinks that the order in Bḍ-Vā is better than in H-B, then the better order will be the younger one.

§ 10. The birth of Kṛṣṇa. *After the chapter (e) in* § 9 there follows in Bḍ-Vā, Mt-P, A, and Li (Kirfel, 472 sqq.) a more detailed description of the birth of Kṛṣṇa, and of his wives and children. Both points have also been treated thoroughly in H and B, but in another connection, namely in Kṛṣṇa's biography and partly corresponding to the text of the Purāṇas.[2]

At his birth Kṛṣṇa appeared in his divine form with four arms (cf. his death). This detail has been noticed by the Purāṇas (Kirfel, 472, 2), by B, 182, 12, and Vi, v, 3, 8, but not by H. At the same moment the ocean was boisterous, the mountains shook, etc. This description is identical in Bḍ-Vā (Kirfel, 473, 2, 6–11), and H (59, 15 sqq., not noticed by Kirfel), but missing in B and Vi (in B, 182, 11*cd*, only some other omens). Then Vasudeva, fearing Kaṁsa, asked Kṛṣṇa to draw in his divine marks; these three ślokas of the Purāṇas (Kirfel, 473, 3–5) are the same as H, 59, 22–4,

[1] The derivation of Vṛṣṇi is different in H, 34, 3 (Kirfel, 449, 2) and H, 37, 2 (Kirfel, 432, 2), and the name Vṛṣṇi as the name of a family is derived in H, 33, 35 (Kirfel, 420, 53) from a Vṛṣaṇa who descended from a Vṛṣa (ibid., 52). But this Vṛṣa has not been mentioned before in H or B. Nīlakaṇṭha explains that this Vṛṣa is the same as Payoda (= cloud; *vṛṣa* = rain) mentioned previously (Kirfel, 410, 2), but this explanation shows only that the problem is unsolved. Bḍ-Vā therefore have changed the name of a man called Kṛṣṇa into Vṛṣa (Kirfel, 419, 47). B in the same line has the reading Vṛṣaṇa.

[2] Not noticed by Kirfel; cf. especially his article in *Festschrift Jacobi*, p. 314 sq.

and are told in a longer and more elaborate version in B, 182, 12–19. It is not quite clear if these three points are genuine and old or late interpolations. The second point in H agrees with Bḍ-Vā against B, not very seldom met with in the vaṁśa, but it is impossible to prove that such an agreement is always an old one.[1]

§ 11. Ekānaṁśā. Bḍ-Vā also agree with H in another passage dealing with the education of the girl Ekānaṁśā in the cow settlement (Kirfel, 475, 7, 4–6 = H, 59, 46–8).[2] These three lines cannot be understood from the surrounding stanzas in H and are therefore to be regarded as an interpolation in its text. But in Bḍ-Vā the whole context is different, and there is a proper place for the girl. In Li (Kirfel, *Festschrift Jacobi*, 313), this version of Bḍ-Vā has been contaminated with that of H, as its original version in H (preserved in B) has been contaminated with that of Bḍ-Vā.

§ 12. The wives and children of Kṛṣṇa.

(*a*) The wives of Kṛṣṇa are enumerated in H-B in two different versions. The first (H, 115, 41–43*ab*) is identical with B (201, 3*cd*–5*ab*), and is also easily recognized in the fuller account in Bḍ-Vā (Kirfel, 477, 14–15 ; A, Mt-P are different) :—

Kālindīṁ Mitravindāṁ ca	H, 41*a*	*Kālindī Mitravindā ca*	Kirfel, 15*c*
Satyāṁ Nāgnajitīm api | *tathā* : B	*b*	*Satyā Nāgnajitas tadā*	14*b*
Sutāṁ Jāmbavataś cāpi *devī* : B *tī cāpi* : B	*c*	*Jāmbavaty api*	14*d*
Rohiṇīṁ kāmarūpiṇīm || *sadā tuṣṭā tu Rohiṇī* : B	*d*	*Rohiṇī*	14*d*
Madrarājasutāṁ cāpi *cānyā* : B	42*a*	*Śaibyā Sudevī Mādrī ca*	15*a*
suśīlāṁ śubhalocanām | *śīlamaṇḍalā* : B	*b*	*Suśīlā nāma cāparā*	15*b*
Sātrājitīṁ Satyabhāmāṁ	*c*	*Sātrājitī Satyabhāmā*	14*c*
Lakṣmaṇāṁ cāruhāsinīm ||	*d*	*Lakṣmaṇā jalavāsinī*	15*d*
Śaibhyasya ca sutāṁ tanvīm (B om.)	43*a*	Cf. 15*a* *Śaibyā*	

[1] As, e.g., in § 4 ; cf. § 6 ; it is doubtful in § 8 (twice), § 13*a*, 1, and improbable in § 11 and § 17 (twice) ; cf. § 12, Puṇḍra, etc.

[2] Not noticed by Kirfel. A fuller discussion of the problem of this girl will be given, I hope soon, on another occasion when dealing with the whole biography of Kṛṣṇa.

The second version (H, 158, 3–4) is missing in B. In B, 205, 1, only a reference is given to B, 201, 1 sqq. We may therefore conclude that the author of B knew in fact this second version of H, but did not copy it because it did not agree with the first version. From this second version of H is to be derived the version of A-Mt-P standing in order in the place corresponding to that of the first version in Bḍ-Vā (Kirfel, 477, 14–15) :—

Rukmiṇī Satyabhāmā ca devī Nāgnajitī tathā |
Satyā : Kirfel.
Sudattā ca tathā Śaibyā Lakṣmaṇā cāruhāsinī || H, 158, 3 ; Kirfel, 14.
Gāndhārī Lakṣmaṇā tathā : Kirfel (*c* in A differs).
bhāmā : Mt.
mitrā : P.
Mitravindā ca Kālindī Jāmbavaty api Pauravī |
devī Jāmbavatī tathā : Kirfel (cf. H, 3*b*, *supra*).
Subhimā ca tathā Mādrī ; Rukmiṇītanayān śṛṇu || H, 4 ; Kirfel, 15. *śīlā* : Mt-A. *Kauśalyā Vijayā tathā* : Kirfel.

These younger Purāṇas have replaced the shorter account of the Bḍ-Vā by the second version. B did know this second version. But why has H both of them ? It seems that there were in old times different oral traditions and that H collected all the material available.

Seven wives should be enumerated in the first version according to H, 115, 40, besides Rukmiṇī, but in fact there are nine. The commentator tries to identify Śaibyā and the eighth ; he says that the daughter of the Madra king is the same as Lakṣmaṇā. But in the second version they are clearly differentiated, and in the following passage their sons are distinguished. In the second version there should be eight wives, according to H, 158, 2, but there are eleven. And in the following passage there are yet more wives and their sons. This means that the tradition even in the oldest and shortest version was no longer pure and clear.

(*b*) The children of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī are also enumerated in two different versions, the first just before the first version of Kṛṣṇa's wives (H, 115, 37*cd*–39*ab*), the second after the second of his wives (H, 158, 5–7*b*). In this case too the first

version is identical with B (201, 1–2), and instead of the second there is in B the reference already mentioned. In the Purāṇas (Kirfel, 477, 17 sq.) there are again two versions, of which that of Bḍ-Vā coincides at least in one pāda with the first version of H: H, 115, 38*d* = B, 201, 1*d* = Kirfel, 17*d*. The pāda, H, 39*b* = B, 2*d* = Kirfel, 18*b* (Bḍ-Vā), occurs also in Mt-P (18, 1*b*). On the other side in the version of Mt-P (Kirfel, 17*d*) there is the pāda, H, 115, 37*d*, missing in B. In B this pāda has been made use of already in 199, 12. The second version of H is again to be recognized in Mt-P; H, 6*b*, became Mt, 18*b*, and H, 7*a*, became Mt, 18, 1*a*.

(*e*) The children of Kṛṣṇa by his other wives are enumerated in H-B in one version only, but in B (205, 2–6), the text of H, 158, 7*c*–23, has been shortened, while at the same time the text of H has probably been expanded. The two versions of the Purāṇas (Kirfel, 478, 19–24) derive from H in different ways; perhaps they have enlarged the original Puranic text, which may have been similar to B, by quotations from the later H:—

H, 7*cd*, 8*d*	= Mt-P, 18, 1*cd*, 19*ab*	H, 8*cd*	= Bḍ-Vā, 19, 1*ab*
8*cd* is a duplicate of 7*d*, 8*b*		9*ab*	= 1*cd*
9*cd*, 10*ab*	= Mt-P, 20		
10*cd*	= Mt-P-Bḍ-Vā, 21*ab* (sons of Nāgnajitī, not of Jāmbavatī)	11*ab*	= 2 (sons of Jāmbavatī, not of Nāgnajitī)
23	= Mt-P, 24		
28*ab*	= Mt-P-Bḍ-Vā, 25*ab*	11*d*	cf. 19, 3*c*

At any rate it is clear that H was the common source of both Puranic versions. Bḍ-Vā have also borrowed from this (late and enlarged ?) chapter in H the line of Puṇḍra, Kapila, and Jarā, missing in B (H, 158, 25*cd*, 26*cd*, 27: Kirfel, 461, 60, 3*cdef*, and 60, 4), and the sons of Baladeva (H, 158, 24*ab*; Kirfel, 459, 56*cd*; B, 198, 19*cd*; Vi, iv, 15, 12).[1]

In Vi all these passages are to be found corresponding to their positions in B (Vi, v, 28, 1 sqq.; 32, 1 sqq.), besides a short enumeration of Kṛṣṇa's wives and children in iv,

[1] See note 2, p. 341.

15, 20 (= vaṁśa). But this fact does not prove that the list was an original passage of the vaṁśa and not of the biography of Kṛṣṇa (H-B), transferred by the Purāṇas later into the vaṁśa.

§ 13. Viṣṇu's avatāras. In the Purāṇas (Bḍ-Vā, Mt-P, A) after the line of the Yādavas there follows a long chapter describing the avatāras of Viṣṇu (Kirfel, 482–520). Some parts of this chapter have been found in H also (Kirfel, ibid.; H, 40–1). And thereafter follows the Syamantaka story concluding the whole vaṁśa. But some parts corresponding to these sargas of H are to be found also in B, which Kirfel has not noticed. Only by the testimony of B is it certain that this chapter is really an old one. In B their place is exactly at the beginning of Kṛṣṇa's biography, the same place as in H.

(a) First Janamejaya asks (H, 40, 1–5) about the Varāhāvatāra. There is in B (179, 1–8) instead of that a question of the ṛṣis about Kṛṣṇa-Saṁkarṣaṇa-Subhadrā, the threefold goddess of Purī. Bḍ-Vā have an introduction of their own in place of it (Kirfel, 482, 1–4). Then there follows a question about the other avatāras, the greatness of Viṣṇu, etc. The whole chapter of more than sixty ślokas is nearly identical in H-B and the Purāṇas (Bḍ-Vā). But :—

(1) Kirfel, 5*cd*, 6, 22*cd*, 61*cd*, 63*ab*, are missing in B, but they are in H = Bḍ-Vā. It remains uncertain if they are old and genuine, because they are not essential to the whole context.

(2) At the end of the chapter B has added 179, 66*cd*–75.

(3) Kirfel, 33*cd*, is missing in H-B and must be late.

(4) H has added 41*cd*–43*ab* after Kirfel, 40*ab*.

(5) H, 27*ab* (missing after Kirfel, 25), is identical with B, 32*ab* (after Kirfel, 28), and is therefore genuine, but its original place is uncertain.

(6) Some readings of H are corroborated by B, e.g. Kirfel, 9, 4; 10, 1; 18, 3; the end of 24*b* (*-purāṇam*), etc.

(*b*) Then the Purāṇas tell a long story (Kirfel, 488–514)

how Viṣṇu was cursed by Bhṛgu to be born seven times as a man (Kirfel, 499, 137). In this story Kāvya praises Śiva with a long stotra (Kirfel, 502–6). This element of Śaivism cannot belong to the original Vaiṣṇava vaṁśa (cf. § 15). The chapter is a late interpolation, a justification of Viṣṇu's mythology in the style of the Jātakas.

(c) Viṣṇu was born accordingly in the different ages (Kirfel, 514, 67 sqq.), finally as Kṛṣṇa (Kirfel, 517, 85 sqq.). This chapter contains the answers to the questions of the chapter previously mentioned under (a), and a corresponding chapter is to be found in H immediately after the chapter of questions (41). Now this chapter in H is identical with chapter 213 in B (not noticed by Kirfel).[1] This sarga in B follows immediately after the biography of Kṛṣṇa (B, 181–212). This fact proves this chapter, too, to be a genuine one. But in B there follows another description of Viṣṇu's avatāras (B, 180), after the chapter of questions (B, 179), just before the biography of Kṛṣṇa. This last description has thrust aside the chapter B, 213, but some ślokas of 213 have been preserved in 180.[2] At least the description of the Kṛṣṇa, Vedavyāsa, and Kalki avatāras in H, and partly in B, and Bḍ-Vā may be compared (Kirfel, 517, 85–91). It is a pity that these stanzas about Kṛṣṇa are missing in Mt, the text of which just before and later on agrees with Bḍ-Vā, as well as the stanzas about Vedavyāsa (H, 161 sq.; Kirfel, 516, 79), in B (after B, 213, 163). But the end of the chapter is also identical in the three Purāṇas and in H (Kirfel, 519, 97–104; H, 165*cd*–70), and therefore perhaps genuine, perhaps a later quotation on one side.[3]

[1] H, 12*cd* has been replaced by B, 21*cd*, 22*ab*. H, 15*cd*–19, are missing in B after B, 24, but H, 17*cdef* = B, 180, 26*cd*, 27*ab* (cf. infra about B, 180). H, 18–19, have been replaced by B, 180, 18 sqq. H, 21*ab*, is missing in B, also H, 28*ef*, but this line is only a duplicate of H, 36*ab*. H, 49*cd*, 55, 59, 83*ab* (= 84*c*), 111*cd*, are missing in B. H, 90*ab* (= B, 92*cd*), has been transposed in B after the line 92*ab* corresponding to H, 91*cd*. H therefore has some interpolations.

[2] Cf. the last note.

[3] B, 213, 165–171, is different. Cf. note 2, p. 341. The stanzas of the Kṛṣṇa avatāra contain several problems, to be explained upon another occasion.

§ 14. The Yayāti episode (cf. § 7) is very well adapted to illustrate the interrelation of the different texts concerned, because it is preserved in four easily distinguishable versions. The version in Rām., vii, 58 sq., is an independent one.

(*a*) The shortest version is Mbh, i, 70, 29 sqq., identical with Mt, 24, 55 sqq. (Kirfel, 407, 55, 1 sqq.). It belongs to the old vaṁśa of the Mbh and begins by dealing with Yayāti, his wives and children (Mbh, 29–32). The ślokas enumerating the sons (31 sq.) are missing in Mt and have been omitted intentionally because these sons are enumerated just before the Yayāti episode in Mt (Kirfel, 407, 53*cd*–55). The ślokas of Mt are identical with P; Kirfel has shown that the whole passage of the Somavaṁśa in P is the same as in Mt. In this version of Mt-P (Kirfel, 398 sqq.), Yayāti and his family have been dealt with already, beginning from Kirfel, 407, 52. When we consider that Mt (not P) begins again with Yayāti (Kirfel, 407, 55, 1), in accordance with Mbh, i, 70, 29, it becomes quite clear that Mt has borrowed this passage from the Mbh.

In this version, as in Rām., vii, 58, 23, there is already an allusion to Yayāti's losing his manhood by the curse of Uśanas (Mbh, 38*b*). But the curse is explicitly told only later in Mbh, i, 78, 30 (= third version). It has been omitted in the first version probably because the curse and the whole story of the offence of Devayānī was deemed to be scandalous as regards this ancestress of the Yādavas. It is said in detail that Yayāti had been cursed when he offered some long offerings (Mbh, 38); but there is no connection between this story and the later versions with their fuller details, so that this old passage becomes still more difficult.

In this short version Sukthankar has registered eight ślokas as a late interpolation (693*), because they are not found in his manuscripts.[1] They are missing also in Rām.,

[1] K, 1, 2, and the Nepali MS.: Sukthankar, *Annals Bhandarkar ORI*, xix, 201 sqq., 205. They are a very late interpolation, not more than 300 years old (as Sukthankar wrote to me in a letter kindly answering a question of mine).

vii, 59, 10 sqq., and in Mt.[1] Among them the line 3 is very important, because it occurs in all the other versions also, and the last two lines in the third and fourth versions. They are the moral quintessence of the whole story and easily transferred from one text to the other.

(*b*) The second version is that of H (30) and B (12). The five sons are enumerated in a single śloka (H, 5; Kirfel, 385, 10*cd*, 11*ab*), which may have been developed out of the corresponding line of the first version (Mbh, i, 70, 32), and which is identical with the stanza Mbh, i, 90, 9, and Vi, iv, 10, 2 (both these chapters moreover being written in prose); perhaps this śloka was a famous *versus memorialis*.

Then follows the episode of the chariot (cf. *supra*: H, 6–16*ab*; Kirfel, 385, 11*cd* sqq.), a late interpolation, important because this chariot was ultimately obtained by Kṛṣṇa.

The next point is again an innovation: Yayāti distributed his whole kingdom among his five sons (H, 16*cd*–20; Kirfel, 395, 84 sqq.). According to the first version Pūru alone succeeded Yayāti. But H was interested in glorifying the Yādavas, the race of Kṛṣṇa. Pūru, the ancestor of the heroes of the Mbh, got the kingdom of Yayāti, but Yadu, etc., received at least a share of land, though not the kingdom.

Only then Yayāti asked his eldest son, Yadu, to take old age from his father, but the cursing of Uśanas and the quarrelling of Devayānī and Śarmiṣṭhā are not mentioned (H, 21 sq.). The first stanza of this petition is similar to that in the first version :—

Mbh, i, 70, 37:	H, 30, 22*d*–23*abcd* (= B, 24*bcd*, 25*ab*):
Yayātir abravīt taṁ vai	*Yayātir Yadum abravīt* ‖
jarā me pratigṛhyatām |	*jarāṁ me pratigṛhṇīṣva*
	putra kṛtyāntareṇa vai |
yauvanena tvadīyena	*taruṇas tava rūpeṇa*
careyam viṣayān aham ‖	*careyam pṛthivīm imām* ‖

Yayāti then lays a curse upon Yadu that his descendants should never become kings (H, 29); this curse was very

[1] This is not a strong proof, because Mt. may have quoted this passage from any MS., not from the archetype of the Ādiparvan.

important, as Kṛṣṇa in fact never became king of Mathurā or Dvāravatī.[1] Just in a few words the petition is also refused by the other sons (not mentioned in the first version), and only Pūru agrees. The śloka H, 35, may be derived from the third line of 693* in Mbh (cf. *supra*), or vice versa. The moral conclusion of Yayāti contains the four stanzas mentioned before and three others (H, 42–4). An appendix follows of three stanzas, mentioning especially the Yādava race, where as at the end of the first version (= Mbh) Pūru had been mentioned.

The interrelation between the first version in Mbh, i, 70, and the second in H-B is, of course, the same as in the whole vaṁśa section; the general story is similar, but there is only a slight conformity in the words themselves.

(c) The fuller story in Mbh, i, 71–88, may be regarded as the third version, following immediately after the first. The curse of Uśanas is told in Mbh, i, 71–8, and is borrowed verbatim by Mt, 25–42.[2] By this curse Yayāti suddenly became old and asked Yadu to take his old age from him, as had been agreed to by Uśanas. The stanza Mbh, 79, 3*cd*, in this petition of Yayāti is a verbatim quotation from the first version (Mbh, 70, 37*cd*, quoted above), but it is a new point that Yayāti promises to give back his newly gained manhood after one thousand years (79, 4).

In Yadu's answer and Yayāti's reply there are the following coincidences in H (second version), Mbh (third), and Bḍ-Vā (fourth):—

H, 30:	Mbh, i, 79:	Bḍ-Vā (Kirfel, 387):
24	om.	25
25	824*	26
om.	5–6	27–8
26	826*	29
27	om.	30
28	om.	31
29*ab*	om.	32*ab*
om.	7*ab*	32*cd*
29*cd*	7*cd*	32*ef*

[1] But in Rām., vii, 59, 14 sq., the curse upon Yadu is that his descendants should become yātudhānas, sorcerers. We may consider that, according to the Rām. Yadu belonged to the descent of Ikṣvāku and was not the ancestor of the Yādava race and Kṛṣṇa (cf. § 15).

[2] Cf. Sukthankar ad Mbh, i, 71, 1; Kirfel, 409.

This means that some Northern MSS. of the Mbh have borrowed more (824*, 826*) from H-B than the bulk of the other MSS. (H, 29*cd*, only).

The discussion between Yayāti and his other sons (Mbh, 8 sqq.; Kirfel, 839, 33 sqq.) is much more elaborate than in H-B (Kirfel, 388, 32, 1–5). Mbh, 80, 1, is again derived from the first version (70, 43). Line 2 of 838* is the same as line 3 in 693* of the first version (Kirfel, 392, 63*cd*), the nature of the relation remaining uncertain; perhaps this line has been borrowed from the second or fourth version. In 840*[1] there is again the moral quintessence, containing the first two ślokas of the first and second versions, thereafter the fifth stanza of the second version and two new stanzas which are also to be found in Vi (Kirfel, 397, 95, 1–2). Then Yayāti takes back his old age (80, 11). Only in a Southern interpolation, 850*, is there a hint that the other sons were settled at the frontiers of Pūru's kingdom.

The third version has to be derived mainly from the first version with some quotations from the second.

(*d*) The fourth version in Bḍ-Vā (Kirfel, 387, 22 sqq.) depends mostly on the third, but also on the second. The curse of Uśanas is missing (Mbh, i, 71 sqq.). Owing to this the pāda *b* of the first stanza (Kirfel, 22), taken from the Mbh, had to be altered. The allusion to Uśanas in Kirfel, 23*cd*, the stanzas 27 sq. and 32*cdef* (cf. (*c*) *supra*), and the discussions with the other sons are taken from the Mbh.

But from the second version have been taken 24*cd* (*c* = H, 23*a* = B, 24*c*; *d* = H, 23*f*),[2] 25 sq., the episode of the chariot (Kirfel, 385, 11 sqq.), 30–2, 63 sq., the distribution of the kingdom in 84 sqq., the moral quintessence in 88 sqq., and the last ślokas, 96 sqq. The distribution of the kingdom was postponed after the curse of Uśanas, but after this curse,

[1] 840* is missing also in the old Nepali MS. (cf. note 1, p. 346), according to Sukthankar's letter.

[2] The line between (H, 23*cd*) has been taken from the first version (Mbh, i, 70, 37*cd*), cf. *supra* (*b*).

when Pūru was the only king and successor of Yayāti, such a division was hardly possible.

It is clear that the versions of the Yayāti episode and the development of the texts of the vaṁśa as restored in this paper go well together: (1) Mbh, (2) H, and (3) Purāṇas.

§ 15. The vaṁśa in the Harivaṁśa. From these details we may conclude that in general the vaṁśa of H-B is founded on that of the Mbh,[1] in accordance with H's claim to be a supplement of the Mbh. There are many differences between the Mbh and H, but in order to explain them we may consider that the Mbh is interested only in the Pauravas, but H in the Yādavas, and partly they may be explained by the fact that H is certainly the supplement, not of the Mbh as we have it to-day, but of an older and perhaps shorter Mbh. It is therefore not necessary to assume that Mbh and H are founded on any other common source, an old purāṇam, now lost.[2] But the original vaṁśa of the Mbh, the later interpolations, and all the material added in H have been taken from the inexhaustible stream or, as we may say, the different streams of oral tradition (*purāṇam*), current in the different countries of Northern India.[3] To collect and to put in a literary form these old traditions was the real life and the valuable work of the epic and Puranic texts. To grasp this life of the texts as far as possible is the highest problem of the difficult textual criticism of this enormous mass of literature.

Thus it may be seriously considered if the line of Ikṣvāku in H (missing in the Mbh, cf. § 7) has been taken directly from the Rām. If one compares the very short description in Rām., i, 70 = ii, 110, with H-B, most of the names of the Rām. will be found in H also, but not all of them and

[1] A similar criterion is afforded by the motif of the complaint of the Earth-goddess in H, 42, 4 sqq. (B, 181, 8 sqq.), and Mbh, i, 58; cf. W. Ruben, *Intern. Arch. f. Ethnogr.*, Lejden, 1939, Suppl. zu xxxvii, Eisenschmiede und Dämonen in Indien, p. 234.

[2] Cf. § 9 (g), and § 7.

[3] The first book of the Rām. (i, 23 sqq.) is such a collection of local traditions, told by Viśvāmitra.

not always in the same order. Exactly the same story is told in H-B (and Bd-Vā : Kirfel, 324, 34 sqq.) about Bāhu as is told in Rām., i, 70, 28 sqq., about Asita (this is the only detailed story in this poor list of names), how he was driven away from his kingdom and wandered through the jungle and how his wife there gave birth to Sagara. The following names are common to both texts, the names missing or transposed in H being put in brackets :—

Avyaktam, Brahmā, Marīci, Kaśyapa, Vivasvān, Manu Vaivasvata, Ikṣvāku (Kukṣi), Vikukṣi (Kirfel, 308), (Bāṇa, Anaraṇya) (Pṛthu ?), Triśaṅku (322), Dhundhumāra (311), Yuvanāśva (316), Māndhātṛ (316) (Susandhi, Dhruvasandhi) (Bharata ?), Asita (cf. Bāhu ; 324), Sagara (324), Asamañja (329), Aṁśumān (330), Dilīpa (331), Bhagīratha (331) (Kakutstha ?), Raghu (334) (Puruṣādaka), Kalmāṣapāda (333), Śaṅkhana (337), Sudarśana (337), Agnivarṇa (337), Śīghraga (337), Maru (337), Praśuśruka (337), Ambarīṣa (332), (Nahuṣa, Yayāti), Nābhāga (332), Aja (334), Daśaratha (334), Rāma (334).

The Rām. was well known to the compilers of the Mbh, because they introduced a short summary of it into the Mbh.[1] But this list of names in Rām. was only the framework for the fuller account of the Vaiṣṇava theologians who compiled the vaṁśas of the Pauravas, Yādavas, Bhārgavas, and Aikṣvākavas in H, whereas they took most of their material from oral traditions.[2] At least we have not yet found the slightest hint that this great and complicated vaṁśa or its single parts had been composed in literary form or in texts fixed and orally circulated by Brahmanical or other schools except for these three sections in the three famous Vaiṣṇava epics, Mbh, Rām., and H. There are no remains of a full

[1] Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, 72 sq. ; Ruben. *Studien zur Textgeschichte des Rāmāyaṇa*, 53 ; Sluskiewicz, *Contribution à l'Histoire du Rāmāyaṇa* (Krakow, 1938), 1 sqq., 266 sqq.

[2] There is such a great difference between the morals of the Rām. and H, that it sometimes looks like a polemic. This point also will be discussed on another occasion.

Purāṇam handed down to posterity like the Vedas as a fifth Veda.

There must have been something similar to the later local māhātmyas. There were some songs in praise of kings, and vaṁśas of Rajputs beginning with cosmogonical stories and proving the nobility of the respective clans, so important for the regulations of marriage and inheritance. There were old fairy tales, myths, poetical tales of heroes—but only relatively short ones. There were some tracts on cosmography and śrāddha (cf. § 16), and the Manvantaras (cf. § 6). But as a whole the vaṁśa of H is an independent text, founded on the Mbh and perhaps the Rām., fairly well composed but not yet critically emended; and we may well presume that it was the first of its kind, the first synthesis of the Puranic vaṁśa, composed in the third Indian and Vaiṣṇava epic, the other epics too being Vaiṣṇava and both dealing with some part of the vaṁśa, the one with the Sūrya-, the other with the Somavaṁśa.

The vaṁśa of H is a pure Vaiṣṇava text. At the beginning the first creation is told as the work of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. But Rudra (Śiva) and the eleven Rudras are mentioned only as creatures of Brahmā. This history of the world reaches its highest points with Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, the great avatāras of Viṣṇu. All the other heroes, too, of the Kṛṣṇa story belong to the Somavaṁśa. But Śiva is not essential for the mythology of the vaṁśa. Once he intervenes in a struggle between the gods and the devils, when Soma by impertinence carried away Tārā, the wife of Bṛhaspati. On this occasion Rudra gave his bow to Bṛhaspati, but it was useless to him; it was Brahmā who gave Tārā back to Bṛhaspati (Kirfel, 352, 29 sqq.). At another time Śiva blessed Uśanas Kāvya, but again this blessing was useless to him (Kirfel, 502 sq.). In the same chapter all the conflicts of the gods with the devils are enumerated, and among them Śiva's devastation of Tripura is mentioned (Kirfel, 504, 177; 489, 74). But there is no other mention of Śiva's myths in this

vaṁśa, and he cannot be compared with Viṣṇu, the central figure of the text.

It is difficult to decide to what stratum of the Mbh its vaṁśa is to be ascribed, whether it belongs to the old epic of the Bharatas or to the later and revised epic dealing with Kṛṣṇa. It is strange that the vaṁśa claims to deal with the Yādavas (i, 70, 2), but does not do so, except for telling the story of Yadu himself.

§ 16. Brahmapurāṇa. The vaṁśa of H was quoted verbatim by B, or we may say, it became the source of B, or, more accurately, it became one of the sources of B, the others being the biography of Kṛṣṇa and the māhātmyas of Purī and Orissa.

B is a compilation as complicated as all the other Purāṇas. But it is quite clear that it begins by quoting the vaṁśa and ends by quoting the biography of Kṛṣṇa from the same H (to be discussed soon on another occasion). After the vaṁśa follows the cosmography, which is to be found in the Mbh (and therefore not in H, its supplement) and most of the other Purāṇas (B, 18–27). It is followed by a text in praise of Orissa (B, 28–33), and then by the Śaiva story of Pārvatī (34–40); in Orissa, especially in Bhuvaneśvara, Śiva is worshipped highly as well as Viṣṇu. Then follows a piece of the history of Orissa, how Indradyumna erected the wooden idols of Jagannātha-Puruṣottama at Purī (43–51). Next comes the Vaiṣṇava myth of Mārkāṇḍeya (52–69), ending in a song in praise of Puruṣottama. Then follows the long episode of the Gaṅgā (tīrthas), the chapters of which have preserved an old numbering of their own (70–175), showing that this was an independent text of Śaiva origin. Then the praise of Purī is sung again; Viśvakarman created the image of Vāsudeva in Purī (176), Rāvaṇa carried it away, but Rāma brought it to Ayodhyā and gave it to Varuṇa, who restored it in Purī after Viṣṇu had been reborn as Kṛṣṇa. After that it tells the Vaiṣṇava story of Kandu (178; cf. § 17), who lived in Purī, and the biography of Kṛṣṇa (180–213).

This is followed by an eschatological description of heaven and hell, some ritualistic chapters (221 sqq.), the description of the end of the world (229 sqq.), and some chapters on yoga (234 sqq.; cf. § 17).

The vaṁśa at the beginning, the Kṛṣṇacarita at the end and the māhātmyas of Purī in the middle, such is the main disposition of B.

§ 17. Viṣṇupurāṇa. The relation between Vi and B (resp. H) is not easily described. Nobody will doubt that the Kṛṣṇacarita of Vi is only an enlarged form of B, but the vaṁśa in Vi is not homogeneous. It contains all the seven chapters mentioned above and in the same order, but they are separated from each other by some legends and didactic chapters, and they belong to different versions.[1]

Vi begins[2] with the first chapter of the vaṁśa and mostly in accordance with the readings of the Padmapurāṇa (Kirfel, xxix). Then follow the second, third, and fourth chapters, but missing the second half of the fourth chapter, the story of Pṛthu. The wording is mostly similar to H-B. The stories of Prahlāda and others are interpolated. The second book of Vi contains the cosmography.

The third books opens with the chapter of the Manvantaras (= fifth chapter of the vaṁśa). Its first half is the same as in Kū, its second half has readings of its own, but the content

[1] The legend of Kandu (Vi, i, 15, 11–58) is taken from B (178, 1–194) or vice versa (translated by Zimmer, *Maya*, 72 sqq.):

Vi:		B:
11–12	similar to	1–68
13–26	=	69–82*cd*
27*ab*		om.
27*cd*–49	=	82*ef*–103
50	similar to	104
51		om.
52	=	105
om.		106–111: description of Puri
53–58	=	112–117
59		om.
om.		118–194: stotras.

[2] The corresponding figures are to be found in Kirfel's table at p. xx.

is similar to Bḍ-Vā (Kirfel, xxxvi). The main items of the third book are ritualistic doctrines, among others the śrāddha.

The fourth book contains the sixth and seventh chapters of the vaṁśa, the Solar and Lunar kings. It is written in prose and is therefore different from the other Purāṇas. Its contents are similar to Bḍ-Vā, e.g. as regards the order of the Yādavas and Pauravas. It begins again with Brahmā and Dakṣa who came out of his thumb. It contains the fuller story of the birth of Kṛṣṇa, which is merely a prose version of the description in its Kṛṣṇacarita (iv, 15, 13 sqq.). At the end there is a chapter on the historical kings of Northern India (iv, 24), nothing of this kind being found in Mbh, H, or B, but only in some later Purāṇas.

The latest historical kings mentioned are the Guptas and therefore the date of the chapter has been fixed at about A.D. 330.[1] But it is very strange that the Guptas are mentioned together with other "contemporary" dynasties of very low standing, e.g. Vrātyas, Dvijas, Ābhīras, and Śūdras in Saurāṣṭra, Avanti, Mt. Abu, and in the desert (iv, 24, 18, etc.). Together with them they are blamed for being wanting in faith, very fierce, unreliable, killing women, children, and cattle, robbing, etc. It is incredible therefore that the author of the chapter should have been under the rule of this most splendid dynasty of India. In the same way it strikes one that only one king of this list is mentioned in as many as five stanzas (in Pargiter's text), and just before the Guptas, namely the King Viśvasphāni (with various readings) of Magadha. He must have been very powerful, because he replaced the previous kings by new ones, namely by Kaivarta, Pañcaka, Pulinda, and Brahmins, he is like Viṣṇu in battle, he is called *klīvākṛti* (perhaps "as abstinent as an eunuch?"), he satisfied the ancestors and priests. he did penance at the River Gaṅgā, and ascended to the heaven of Indra. It is still difficult to understand this text in detail, but it seems to be a plausible point that the author of the chapter was one of

[1] Pargiter, *The Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Oxford, 1913); Kirfel, xviii.

his followers at the time when the old king of the East had retired and lived on the Ganges and the Gupta kings had begun to come into power. It is a pity that the very beginning of the Guptas is still quite obscure.

Some scholars have compared the description of the decline of morals at the end of the present Kali age with the period of the Huns in the sixth century A.D. But such a description is the typical end of the Kṛṣṇacarita already in H, and is therefore repeated in the sixth book of Vi.

The fifth book of Vi contains the biography of Kṛṣṇa, an enlarged version of B. The sixth book gives the description of the Kali age mentioned just above as well as of yoga as the means of salvation, these chapters, vi, 1–5, being identical with B, 229, 231–3, and finally to be derived from H. One may sum up as follows: The main items of Vi are quite similar to B and H, but, whereas the Kṛṣṇacarita is taken only from B with some quotations from H,[1] the vaṁśa has been taken from different sources, namely Bḍ-Vā, P, and Kū (as far as we can judge about their mutual relationship), and another unknown source—or should one rather say that all these Purāṇas have borrowed single parts from Vi? But the prose style of Vi shows quite clearly that its text is rather late. B and H must be much older.

Wilson estimated the māhātmyas of Purī in B as not having been written earlier than the thirteenth century A.D. It may be that some details in their descriptions, or even most of them, are as late as this date. But the same cannot be assumed for the vaṁśa and the Kṛṣṇacarita of B. If B is so late and Vi so much older, then we have the choice between three explanations :—

(a) B was not the source of Vi, but borrowed from it. But such a theory is impossible as regards the vaṁśa, which is identical in B and H, not in B and Vi. If we assumed that as late as the thirteenth century even there was the

[1] Cf. W. Ruben, *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies in honour of F. W. Thomas* (1939), on the original text of the Kṛṣṇa Epic, 188 sqq.

same vaṁśa in Vi as in H-B, then we should expect that it would have been found at least in some manuscripts of Vi.[1]

(b) Or B has descended from H at so late a time. But it cannot then be explained why Vi, which is *ex hypothesi* far older, has the same, or only a very little enlarged, text of the Kṛṣṇacarita as B. It is quite impossible to imagine that B and Vi should have taken their texts independently from H, because their texts are far too similar to each other as compared with that of H.

(c) Or B has taken its vaṁśa from H and its Kṛṣṇacarita from Vi. But such a late reunion of two texts, which originally had stood together in H and had then been separated for centuries in H and Vi, is not probable. There is further an objective argument against this possibility. The chapter on Viṣṇu's avatāras (cf. § 13) is missing in Vi, but in B its place is, just as it is in H, immediately before the Kṛṣṇacarita, which B, according to this assumption, should have taken from Vi and not from H, and therefore its place is too far away from the vaṁśa, which B undoubtedly has taken from H.[2]

To sum up, B, which is called the Ādipurāṇa by the Purāṇas, which does not yet contain the historical dynasties, and the Kṛṣṇacarita of which is shorter than that of Vi, is the older text, and it descends from H, the supplement of the Mbh.

But the disposition of the so-called original Purāṇa is said to be specially preserved in the clearest way in Vi, namely the five topics of sarga, pratisarga, vaṁśa, Manvantara, vaṁśānucarita (Kirfel, xlvi, etc.). Kirfel tried to find these

[1] It is a strange fact that even in so late a text as Bh the line of historical kings does not go beyond that of the other Purāṇas.

[2] Or we arrange the facts in this order then. B took its vaṁśa and its Kṛṣṇacarita from Vi, shortening the carita; later on it replaced the vaṁśa by that of H and on that occasion took the chapter on Viṣṇu's avatāras from H. But such an assumption that the original B was composed as late as the thirteenth century with the whole text of Vi, books i–iv, instead of its sargas 1–17, as we read them to-day, is highly improbable so long as MSS. of such a B are not forthcoming. And if it were proved to be true, it would not touch our theory of the line Mbh-H-Purāṇas.

topics in the seven chapters treated above, but he had to confess that such a task is fruitless. He also declined to accept the theory that there ever was an original Purāṇa dealing with the five topics (xlviii). The question is now settled by the derivation of the Puranic vaṁśa from the Mbh. The five topics are an ideal of later times, but not the germ of the Purāṇas.[1]

It is a pity that there are no māhātmyas of tīrthas in Vi; it is therefore impossible to fix the place of origin of this important text. One might think of Gayā or Puskar. Perhaps it will be possible from the provenance and type of the manuscripts of Vi to judge about its birth-place.

[1] The seven chapters could be reduced to five by omitting the fourth and combining the sixth and seventh. The sarga might correspond with ādisarga, pratisarga (*prati*, distributive, "in detail") with bhūtasarga, vaṁśa with Dakṣavisṛṣṭi, Manvantara with Manvantara, vaṁśānucarita with the Solar and Lunar kings.

The Spanish Historian Ibn Ḥubaiṣẖ

By D. M. DUNLOP

IBN ḤUBAIṢẖ is mentioned by Francisco Codera as a source of Ibn al-'Abbār who deserves attention. Caetani also stresses his importance as a representative of the Medinese tradition which aṭ-Ṭabarī neglected. There is very little about him in the standard books of reference.

His full name was Abū'l-Qāsim 'Abdarraḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah b. Yūsuf b. abī 'Īsā b. Ḥubaiṣẖ al-'Anṣārī. He was born in Almeria in the south of Andalus in 504/1110, apparently of humble parentage, for in later life he did not care to be reminded of his birthplace. After preliminary studies in Almeria he went to Cordoba in 530/1135. Here he worked for three years under "those who were left of its teachers"—implying the decline of ḥadīṯẖ in Spain. He attended the lectures of various distinguished people, including Ibn al-'Arabī (the qāḍī, not Ibn 'Arabī the mystic), and corresponded with Abū'ṭ-Ṭāhir as-Silafī, an admirer of Spanish literature, who taught in Alexandria. Before the end of his stay Ibn Ḥubaiṣẖ had received the *'ijāzah* from several scholars to lecture on his own account. Then he returned to Almeria, and was still there in 542/1147 when the town was taken by the Christians. He says himself: "I was in the castle of Almeria when the city was occupied, and presented myself to their general. . . . I said to him that I knew a tradition tracing up his genealogy to Heraclius the Emperor of Constantinople. He seemed pleased and told me to repeat it, which I did as I had learned it. Upon this he said that I and all who were with me might go free without paying a ransom." [1] By this time he was evidently a person of some importance.

[1] Gayangos, *Muhammadan Dynasties* 2. 312.

Al-Maqqarī speaks of him as "the last of the traditionists of Andalus". This is an exaggeration, for his pupil Abū Rabī' al-Kalā'ī (Kilā'ī) was also an expert, and other names are known. But it is true that in a generation or two the study of ḥadīth was no longer represented by Spaniards. As to Abū Rabī', the uncompromising character of the pupil who died fighting for Islam may occur to mind when we are considering the religious opinions of his master.

Ibn Ḥubaish now withdrew to Jazīrat Shaqr, which appears in spite of its name to have been on the mainland near Valencia. Here he led the prayers and acted as preacher for twelve years. In 556 he went to Murcia as preacher in the congregational mosque. Twenty years later he became qāḍī, and held the office till his death in 584/1188. His main literary work was carried out in the last years of his life. In 575 on the same day as he received his appointment as qāḍī, he was commissioned by the Almohade Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf to write the book later associated with his name, the *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt*.[1] No doubt he was asked to write it because of his high professional reputation, as the examples of Avenzoar (Ibn Zuhr), Ibn Ṭufail, and Averroes (Ibn Rushd) suggest, all protégés of Abū Ya'qūb. But a strong affinity of view in religion between the two men is to be presumed. Ibn Ḥubaish like Abū Ya'qūb was a Mālikite. Al-Marrākushī who was practically contemporary with the events illustrates the temper of the Almohade. A visitor one day found him reading the work of Ibn Yūnus on canonical law. He complained of the various opinions there found and finally exclaimed that there was only this—indicating a copy of the Qur'ān, or that—the collection of traditions (*Sunan*) of Abū Dā'ūd—or the sword. Of such a man it is safe to say that when he commissioned Ibn Ḥubaish to write on the orthodox caliphs, he regarded him as a rigorous believer. We may further connect Ibn Ḥubaish with the Ẓāhirite movement, which Abū Ya'qūb was said privately to favour and which his son al-Manṣūr

[1] Sometimes Kitāb al-Maghāzī.

enforced. At least one well-known Spanish scholar, Ibn Ḥazm, had been attracted by this movement. Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb b. Diḥyah, perhaps the most famous pupil of Ibn Ḥubaish, and an elder brother, Abū 'Amr b. Diḥyah, were also Ẓāhirites.

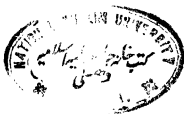
It is not clear why the *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt* has not enjoyed greater popularity. Ibn al-'Abbār says that the author was a recognized expert and that people copied his history. Ibn Zubair, a well-known traditionist to whom adh-Dhahabī gives a good amount of space, regarded him as the greatest expert of his class. Yet his book is not mentioned by Ḥajjī Khalīfah, and only two MSS. of it are certainly known. It may be due to his association with the Almohades. We have, however, a perfectly definite statement by Ibn Diḥyah that Ibn Ḥubaish accepted unreliable traditions. His opinion about his teacher's book is worth considering, for he was himself reckoned a great traditionist, and might account for its later obscurity. On the other hand some at least regarded Ibn Diḥyah as unreliable, for his biography is included in Ibn Ḥajar's *Lisān al-Mīzān* which deals only with unsatisfactory authorities, and is not mentioned in the Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ.

It is possible as De Goeje suggested that exception was taken to the use by Ibn Ḥubaish of the *Futūḥ ash-Shām*. The current version is unreliable, but Ibn Ḥubaish clearly thought himself entitled to use it. We have no exact information about the different recensions of the *Futūḥ*. In deciding the question an important consideration is the declining interest in literature in Spain. The influence of an author without a public in the East was bound to disappear.

There is little more to tell. It was remarked that in public speech Ibn Ḥubaish had a pleasant delivery. As-Suhailī, a fellow-student, said: "I wish I had his voice with my learning." Ibn Ḥubaish was more modest, for when asked a question he used to reply, like Tha'lab on one occasion, that he did not know. Apart from the *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt* he appears to have written one other work, a little book of tradition

On Nicknames. He died as we said in 584/1188 and his funeral was marked with much ceremony. The 'amīr of Murcia recited the prayers, and large crowds assembled as at the burial of a popular saint, for his administration had been mild and just.

Ahlwardt, in the Berlin catalogue, gives Ibn Ḥabīsh as the name. This is undoubtedly wrong, but it is interesting to find that a generation or two later there was an author Ibn Ḥabīsh.[1]

[1] Al-Maqqarī 2.645, etc.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

DIE BEDUINEN. By MAX FREIHERR VON OPPENHEIM. Band i. Die Beduinenstämme in Mesopotamien und Syrien. Harrasowitz, Leipzig, 1939. 8 × 11, xiv + 387 (with plates and maps).

The author is an authority on his subject, and this work is an instalment of the knowledge of Beduin life and customs gained by nearly fifty years' experience. The literary evidence for Beduin wanderings has been closely studied, and in this respect the work bridges the gulf between the Arabs of history and the Beduin of to-day. Further, the penetration of Arabia by Europeans is illustrated from the writings of all reputable travellers. This book will long remain indispensable to those who desire to know the principal facts about the tribes of the North and East, though it will not displace our Handbooks of Arabia and Mesopotamia.

A most valuable feature is the writing of the names in Arabic characters for which the Arabist cannot be too thankful. Different names often appear in English works under the same transliteration. Another feature of great antiquarian interest is the record of the tribal warcries and their *wasm,* though this is by no means complete.

Three more volumes dealing with the rest of the Arabs of the peninsula and a fourth devoted to the life and *Kultur* of the Beduin are promised. To judge by the work before us they will complete a survey of the Arabia of the Arabs more comprehensive than any study we now possess.

B. 423. ALFRED GUILLAUME.

Far East

THREE WAYS OF THOUGHT IN ANCIENT CHINA. By ARTHUR WALEY. 8 × 5½, pp. 275. London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1939. 7s. 6d.

Students of Chinese will welcome Dr. Waley's book in the knowledge that his name carries a guarantee of original research and illuminating comment.

This and the author's two previous books, *The Way and Its Power* and *The Analects of Confucius*, cover the main field of pre-Christian Chinese philosophy, and even the reader who approaches the subject for the first time will find in *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* hardly a dull page.

The "three ways" are those of Chuang-tzu the Taoist, the poet, the humorist, the idealist: Mencius, whose appeal was to the intelligence as well as to the goodness that he believed to be innate in man; and the *Fa Chia* teachers, justly called by the author "The Realists", who held that government should be based upon existing facts rather than upon idealistic principles.

In times when autocratic states, continually at war with one another, rose and fell, it is natural to find doctrines identical with the tenets of twentieth-century totalitarianism. And when we read that twenty-five centuries ago the people were organized into groups mutually responsible for each other and obliged to denounce each other's crimes; that severe laws and punishments were held to be the only means of enforcing order; that to do things which the enemy would be ashamed to do was the way to secure an advantage; that there was little distinction between "protectors" and common brigands; we realize that much of what we now deplore is nothing new.

Of the philosophers dealt with, little is known and much of their alleged writings is spurious or obscure. Previous translators, doing their best with the whole text as they have found it and concerning themselves more with commentary than with the original, have sometimes woven a web of little

meaning. Dr. Waley has the knowledge and the discrimination to improve upon this, and by judicious selection and comprehensive treatment has given us a book of entertainment, enlightenment, and charm.

B. 550. E. BUTTS HOWELL.

THE VOYAGES OF SIR JAMES LANCASTER, 1591–1603. A new edition with Introduction and Notes, by SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. 9 × 6, pp. xxviii + 178. London, printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1940.

Among "England's Forgotten Worthies" of Elizabethan days, a prominent place must be given to Sir James Lancaster, whose three voyages are recounted in the above book. His first journey, in 1591–4, which took him to Penang and Malacca and back by the West Indies, was not too fortunate; but the second voyage, in 1594–5, was marked by an audacious and profitable raid on the Portuguese Settlement of Pernambuco in Brazil, and the third, in 1601–3, secured promising openings for trade in Achin and Bantam. After this, Lancaster lived a busy and fairly opulent life in London, till his death in 1618. He maintained a keen interest in naval matters, more especially in the exploration of the North-West Passage, and his name is still commemorated in the "Lancaster Sound" of our Arctic maps, but he was a modest man, who wrote little or nothing himself, and our knowledge of his voyages comes from contemporary accounts by others.

There are four narratives, covering one or other of the voyages, which were published in the immortal pages of Hakluyt and Purchas, and these narratives were reproduced in a portion of a volume issued by the Hakluyt Society in 1877 under the editorship of Sir Clements Markham. But in the sixty years which have since passed three further narratives of the voyages have been discovered, one in the United States and two in the Bodleian at Oxford. The volume under review, which has now been issued by the Hakluyt Society, reproduces

again the four original narratives, and introduces also the three new ones, with some interesting appendices. The additional matter is of itself sufficient to justify the new volume and the book is the more welcome from the fact that it is edited afresh by Sir William Foster, the President of the Society.

When a volume of this type is brought out by Sir William Foster, the "master of them that know" in this class of literature, one expects—and not in vain—a high standard of production, and this book adds—if such addition is possible—to the fine record which Sir William Foster has for so many years established for himself. The Introduction and Notes are based on wide and accurate research, and supply just the amount of information necessary to enable a reader to understand and appreciate the text. The volume too has the sumptuous print and paper which are in the tradition of the Hakluyt Society, and forms a valuable addition to that Society's magnificent contribution to the literature of travel.

B. 633. E. D. Maclagan.

Adventurers in Siam in the Seventeenth Century. By E. W. Hutchinson. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxvii + 283. London; Royal Asiatic Society, 1940.

A French manuscript of the seventeenth century in the Library of the French Foreign Mission, Paris, another by a French Jesuit addressed to Père de la Chaise and now in the Oriental Library at Tokyo, manuscripts at the Hague, a letter in the library of the Propaganda at Rome, these are among the unpublished sources that go to the making of this authoritative and attractive book that "describes the contacts with Siam, first of Portugese, then of Dutch, English and French adventurers in the seventeenth century" and especially the incredible career of that contemporary Odysseus of the many wiles, Constantine Gerakis, or to use the Latin translation of that name, Constantine Phaulcon or Falcon. A linguist adept at French, English,

Portugese, Malay, and Siamese, Phauloon rose to high favour at the Siamese court and was made a Count of France and Knight of the Order of St. Michael, only to suffer for Siam's suspicion of French policy and to be decapitated in 1688. On p. 20 the claim that the Sultan of Malacca was a vassal of Siam from the eleventh century until 1511 is historically untrue, because (*a*) there was no Sultan of Malacca before 1400 A.D. and (*b*) Malay Malacca soon ceased to pay tribute to Siam. The reference in the Index *sub* Malacca to page 120 needs correction in any future edition. The book is well written, well illustrated, and well documented. And it should find a far wider circle of readers than the comparatively few historians interested in European trade with Siam.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

Middle East

OLD ROUTES OF WESTERN IRAN. By Sir M. AUREL STEIN. 9½ × 7½, pp. xxviii + 432, pls., figs., maps, and plan. London: Macmillan and Co., 1940. £2 2*s*.

The achievements of Sir Aurel Stein who, a year hence, reaches his eightieth birthday, alike as an archæologist and an explorer, have seldom, if ever, been surpassed. The work under review deals with the last and longest of four journeys, archæological reconnaissance surveys, which covered British and Iranian Baluchistan and Southern Iran in three expeditions. The reconnaissance under review starting from Shiraz, led through considerable unexplored tracts, which were better known to Alexander the Great and to the Arab explorers of the Middle Ages than to the modern traveller. Traversing the Bakhtiari mountains, the biblical Elam, with its capital Susa, was visited. Then, quitting these fertile plains, the little known hills of Luristan, once a centre of civilization, which tribal anarchy had laid bare and had closed to the peaceful travellers, was passed. At Kirmanshah, the ancient highway from Iraq was crossed to Iranian Kurdistan and the journey,

so full of valuable results, ended in the area to the south of Lake Urumiyeh.

The first discovery of importance was the identification of the "Persian Gates" which guarded the ancient route from Susa to the spring capital of the Achæmenians at Persepolis. The great Macedonian conqueror, who had sent his main body with the baggage trains by the much longer main caravan route, which passes through modern Kazarun, decided to lead his picked Macedonians, the Companions' Cavalry and the mounted scouts by the direct route across the mountains. The historical pass was held by a strong Persian army, supported by the Uxian tribesmen—their name is still retained in Khuzistan—who repulsed the first attack of the Macedonians, with heavy loss. Alexander, however, hearing from prisoners of a hill route which led to a point behind the pass, led his men by it and having come down behind the Persian army, his trumpeters sounded the signal to Craterus, who attacked. The enemy were thus encircled and destroyed. We are most grateful to Stein, and also to his predecessor Professor Hertzfeld, whose united observations on the "Persian Gates" have cleared up a military situation, the most difficult so far as the terrain was concerned, that ever threatened the mighty "Lord of the Two Horns", as Alexander is still termed in Asia.

Stein next visited the Qal'a-Safid, locally identified with the Diz-i-Safid or "the White Castle" of the Shah-Nameh, the scene of one of the great exploits of legendary Rustam. Better known is its capture by Timur, the first historical invader to scale it. Needless to say, Stein climbed, albeit not without considerable effort, to the flat summit, and discovered fortifications and other ruins dating from Sasanian and later Muhammadan times. On the summit were a spring and good grazing.

After a halt at Behbehan, which town succeeded the celebrated Arrajan of Moslem travellers, Stein traversing the Kohgalu hills, visited the little known sculptures of Tang-i-

Sarwak. The most striking among them was a colossal figure pointing with raised right arm to a short column with a rounded top. As the inscription proved, these sculptures belonged to the Parthian period.

In the Bakhtiari Mountains, Stein had reached better known country, and was rewarded by the sight of a recently excavated bronze life-size statue of a royal personage. Showing distinct Hellenistic influence, the illustration proves it to have been a most striking example of Parthian art.

After excavating a shrine at Shāmi, where some interesting finds rewarded his labours, Stein next visited the oilfields of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company at Masjid-i-Suliman, where he was warmly welcomed and received much valuable help in repairing his camp equipment. This site, he considers, was visited, in very early days, by Zoroastrian pilgrims owing to the presence of escaping gas feeding jets of fire. At Baku I saw similar conditions prevailing, and there is no doubt that these natural phenomena originated the fire as the sacred symbol.

Using modern means of transport, the indefatigable traveller next visited Susa, the historical capital of Elam, whose wonderful ruins had been excavated by the French archæologists Dieulafoy and De Morgan. He then rejoined his camp at Sahilabad near Dizful, travelling on this occasion by a completed section of the Trans-Iranian Railway.

The next stage of his journey led up the Saimareh River, better known as the Karkheh in its lower reaches. Almost everywhere in his travels Stein found ruined bridges, dating from Sasanian times, which, in some cases, had served also as barrages to feed irrigation channels. Indeed, these bridges furnished melancholy proofs of how nomadization had ruined these once fertile lands, teeming with a prosperous peasantry with cities, the centres of civilization and commerce. Stein pays a tribute to the ex-Shah for the degree of security, which now exists. At the same time, he

points out that the enforced settlement on the land has caused much sickness and other hardships.

To resume, as in the case of the Karun River the fantastically eroded cliffs overhang the Saimareh and at one point can be jumped with ease. Paying tribute to Sir Henry Rawlinson, who had travelled in Luristan in 1836, Stein illustrates his finds, more especially on plate xx, where a remarkable large three-legged pot is shown. He also secured one or two specimens of the famous Luristan bronzes. This section of the eventful journey, which had occupied some four months, ended at the British Consulate at Kirmanshah, situated on the historical trade route from the Tigris Valley to the heart of Iran.

The next area to be visited was Kurdistan and, on this occasion, Stein travelled by motor to Senneh, the capital of the province. There suitable arrangements were finally made for the completion of his journey, albeit the local Iranian authorities time and again had raised difficulties, which required references to the capital.

For me the most interesting subject on which to close this review was the inspection of the Karafto Caves. These vast natural caverns, apart from the great extent of the excavations may, as Stein suggests, have served as a place of worship since very early, possibly prehistoric, times. Our interest is greatly increased by a Greek inscription which runs : " Here resides Herakles ; nothing evil may enter."

By good fortune Tacitus mentions how Meherdates, a scion of the royal dynasty of Parthia, with the approval and support of Rome, attempted to win the kingdom by the overthrow of King Gotarzes. In this campaign he captured Nineve and Arbel. " Meanwhile," we read, " Gotarzes at the mountain called Sanbulos consulted oracles of the local divinities, in particular of Hercules."

Here, then, at a point where we find Verethraghna, the Zoroastrian Genius of Victory, termed Hercules, we can bid farewell to the great archæologist and explorer who

ended his five fruitful years of work in Iran, whose majestic past must ever excite our reverence.

It remains to add that the maps, made from original surveys, the illustrations, and the plates of antiques add materially to the value of the book.

B. 614. P. M. SYKES.

THE RUGGED FLANKS OF THE CAUCASUS. By JOHN F. BADDELEY. 2 vols., pp. 272 and 328, xxii + xv, pl., viii maps, bibliography. Oxford: University Press, 1940. £6 6*s*.

We have long been awaiting this very handsome book, beautiful paper and printing such as the author loved, and his own maps and illustrations. It is a book for people who like the detail of travel among strange tribes together with a moderate commentary upon what is seen by the way—but it is more expensive than need be. Take the illustrations: all but one are founded on photographs, either the author's or others', or from books, and elaborately re-drawn by him in pencil and then reproduced by Emery Walker. This complicated process makes them look attractive, but lessens their exactness where that matters, e.g. in pictures of objects. The maps, however, are very helpful; as clear as the matter allows, and showing almost every name mentioned in the text; only the relief map at the end is on too small a scale to be of much use. In reading the book the first thing to do is to make a separate diagram-list of what the maps contain.

The work deals with the North Flank only; only once for this book does our author let himself cross the main chain and drop down to Kutais. His centre was in Vladikavkaz, or Grozny where he had oil business: he reaches from Derbend and Petrovsk (Makhach-kala) through Western Daghestan, Chechnia, Khevsurs, Ingushes, Kists, N. Osetes to Balkars. There is nothing about Tushins, Pshavs, S. Osetes, Georgians,

Svans, Abkhazes, or Kabardá and others to the west. A little preliminary survey of the tribes dealt with and their relations might have helped the reader, reminding him that, e.g. the Khevsurs are akin to the Georgians, the Chechens are other autochthones, as are the Ingushes and Kists, so again the Avars and the rest of the Daghestanis, whereas the Osetes are immigrant Iranian-speakers (he quotes enough words to exemplify that), and the Balkars new-come Tartars taking land from the Osetes. But all have the same Caucasian manner of life and dress ; most of them, having long ago been converted to Christianity and relapsed to paganism, have now a veneer of Islam. All are most picturesque (and to our author attractive) manslayers.

His travels were mostly made between 1898 and 1902, generally guided by a delightful Osete called Urusbi : he kept among the highlands and out of the way of the Russians. On the string of his journeys he hangs whatever he comes across, so that the same subject recurs in various passages. The framework is geographical, and I suppose that his geographical information is valuable for the flanks and passes ; he leaves the peaks to Freshfield and Grove. These he vindicates in one queer thing by showing that it was Grove's Russian translator, not his English text, that confused the rivers Cherek and Terek, whereas he takes particular pleasure in showing up the falsehoods and plagiarisms of Klaproth. He also rather enjoys setting right the Countess Uvarov, when I was young, the Queen of Russian Archaeology ; generally his excursions into archaeology are not very useful ; he quotes Tallgren to some purpose, but does not know Hančar's *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens* (1937), nor his earlier articles. He examines the mountaineers' cherished swords which turn out to be mostly such as were current in Western Europe at the Renascence ; the mail of the Khevsurs bears no trace of the Crusaders, but, as in the W. Sudan and in India, is a survival of the great area of mail that about the eleventh century stretched from Central Asia to the Atlantic Ocean. Baddeley

is interested in the buildings, particularly the square defensive towers of which he gives a good section showing how like they are to the Irish round towers, just as are the tiny churches like the Irish cells. Of these the contents seem almost paganized, there were no Koridethi Gospels to be found in this area, and the icon of S. George that enlivens the description of S. George's Church at Dzivgis, is really from Dzhumati. There is a good note, p. 173, on the puzzling *caprae* of the Caucasus.

Customs and myths he saw and heard as he spent long hours with the mountaineers ; the stories he heard he has often improved from printed versions, e.g. those of Vs. Miller ; the customs he compares with those noted by Maxim Kovalevski and in a desultory way with similar usages in other parts of the world ; the working of the laws of Bloodwite, of hospitality and foster-kinship are illustrated again and again in all their surprising variety. At the end of the book, there is an excursus on the Archaeology already noticed ; one on the authorities for Nadir Shah's important campaign in Daghestan, and one, quite unnecessary, on the route of Xenophon's retreat. These are followed by a Bibliography, not complete, but containing many out of the way titles. A large number of these books belonged to the author and were given by him to the London Library.

All through the book the transliteration of Russian, etc., is just naughty : *gh* for plain hard *g* in a region full of spirants and aspirates shows that he approached the local language through Russian, which was his *lingua franca* ; no distinction is made between и and ы, both are *ee* when accented, *i* when unaccented, save that ы is *ui* after a labial, so coinciding with уй, and occasionally *y*, and so on.

Really it is the pen-pictures of the mountains, the mountain-men, and the two travellers Urusbi the Osete and Ivan Ivan'ich the Englishman (who wore the *cherkeska*), which give the book most of its value and charm.

B. 648. ELLIS H. MINNS.

AL-IKLIL (AL-JUZ' AL-THĀMIN). Ed. by NABIH AMIN FARIS. (Princeton Oriental Texts, vii.) 9 × 6½, pp. 16 + 247. Princeton, 1940. $5.

There is no need to dilate on the importance of this book. In 1879 D. H. Mueller published much of the geographical section of the book, and in 1931 Père Anastase published the whole. The present edition looks nicer than its forerunner, but is not so good for study because it has only one index instead of the eighteen which Père Anastase provided. The print is not first class; to mention only one point, *hamza* is in most cases put after its "bearer" instead of above it. The editor did not notice that the work of al-Hamdāni ends at p. 175 and the rest of the volume is an anthology of poems from the *Kitāb-al-tījān* and the *Akhbār* of 'Ubaid b. Sharya, which have been printed in Hyderabad. These poems were not worth reprinting; Mr. Faris did not think them worth translating. The text of this edition is an improvement on its predecessors, but the editor has adopted many of the emendations of Père Anastase without acknowleding them. The south Arabian inscriptions have not been used to elucidate the geography. There is much of interest besides topography. A tale of buried treasure is a thriller. The author knows that the lights of treasure-seekers go out because they will not burn in stagnant air, not because the djinn blow them out. At some medicinal baths it was the custom to offer food to the djinn who worked the cures. Poisonous snakes were not dangerous in Nā'iṭ, and anyone in the neighbourhood, who was bitten, only had to cry "Nā'iṭ" and all was well. It is odd that *masjid* seems to be used for pre-Islamic sanctuaries.

B. 635. A. S. TRITTON.

NOT TO ME ONLY. By CALEB FRANK GATES. 5½ × 8½, pp. 340. Princeton: University Press, Princeton, 1940. $3.

Dr. Gates went to Turkey in 1881, and retired from the presidency of Robert College in 1932, thus living through the Armenian massacres, the deposition of Abd ul-Hamid, the

Balkan wars, the last great war with its attendant horrors, and the rise of a new Turkey. Throughout his career his aim was to serve God by serving men; so he was trusted by Turkish statesmen and had friends in all communities, his only enemies being among those who did not live up to his standard of honesty. It is characteristic that he has nothing but good to say of most men, except European politicians. He condemns Armenian terrorists, but finds, given their point of view, a palliative for their violence. He does not gloss over the horrors, of which Turkey was the scene, but delights to record examples of kindness whether the motive was conscience or enlightened self-interest. It is a great tale, which he has to tell, but the method is not equal to the matter. Dr. Gates has told the story of his life and the history of the colleges with which he was connected. Much of the book is absorbing, but parts of it degenerate into a catalogue, dull lists of people and places. The reviewer found the first hundred pages heavy going. The author is too apt to talk of his experiences in general terms. The candidate for holy orders, who stole mission money and did not call it stealing for he wanted it to build a church in his native village, makes a livelier impression than the statement that codes of morality differ.

B. 674. A. S. TRITTON.

THE CHOSEN HIGHWAY. By Lady BLOMFIELD (Sitárih Khánum). 9 × 6, pp. x + 265, plates 3. London: The Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1940.

The late Lady Blomfield was a prominent figure among the adherents of the Bahā'ī religion in this country, and, as we are told by Mr. D. Hofman in his editorial preface to this book, she designed it as an historical outline of the Faith down to the present time. Death prevented the complete fulfilment of this plan, but much of it has been accomplished. The materials contained in this book are (1) her account of the Bāb, (2) "spoken chronicles" of Bahiyyah Khānum

(Bahā Ullāh's daughter), of Munīrah Khānum ('Abd ul-Bahā's wife), of Ṭūbā Khānum ('Abd ul-Bahā's daughter), and of three other followers, (3) a history of the activities of 'Abd ul-Bahā, and (4) various documents. A considerable amount of inside information upon the tragic history of the movement is to be found in these pages.

B. 603. L. D. BARNETT.

ROZGAR NAU. No. 1, Summer, 1941. Price 1*s.* or 20 cents. 8 × 5 inches. c/o Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., New York, and Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., London.

This Persian periodical "The New Age" is published simultaneously in London and New York. It is a quarterly devoted to cultural and intellectual topics. The contents of the first number are varied and excellent and many of the articles are by recognized authorities. Lawrence Binyon writes on "Pictures in the Khamsa of Nizami in the British Museum"; Professor A. Asturi on "A list of Nizami's works"; Dr. A. J. Arberry on "The Library of the India Office"; Dr. Basil Gray on "Persian Pottery". There are papers on the English Constitution, British trade during the war, English success in industrial investigation, and on works on Persia recently published. The first number has most admirable illustrations, coloured and plain—though the plate on page 54 should have no appeal either to Western or Eastern readers, being neither art nor history. This quarterly should meet a long-felt want in Persia.

India

ŌṢADHIKŌŚAM. Editors: A. VENKATA RAO and Pandit H. SESHA IYENGAR. (Madras University Kannada Series, No. 7.) 10 × 7, pp. viii + 174. Madras, 1940.

The Ōṣadhi-kōśa is an alphabetically arranged list of nearly 12,0 0 Sanskrit words mainly denoting medicinal herbs, but also including terms for many other things, to which are

appended their Kannaḍa meanings. It is a valuable addition to Kannada lexicography, although the edition has necessarily been based upon a single MS.

B. 655. L. D. BARNETT.

MANIFOLD UNITY, THE ANCIENT WORLD'S PERCEPTION OF THE DIVINE PATTERN OF HARMONY AND COMPASSION. By COLLUM. (Wisdom of the East Series.) 7 × 5, pp. 115. London: John Murray, 1940.

The author of this book maintains that there existed in the world's earliest civilization a "reasoned conviction . . . that Unity underlies all diversity and therefore logically predicates Compassion—'fellow feeling'—as the principle relating parts and Whole . . . Early civilized man believed that the manifold universe of mind and matter, expressing the One, is an *harmonia* or 'fitting together' of individual values in a divinely logical gamut", etc. He seeks to establish this thesis by a very imaginative study of ancient religious teachings, with what success the *lector candidus* may be left to judge for himself.

B. 656. L. D. BARNETT.

D. R. BHANDARKAR VOLUME. Edited by BIMALA CHURN LAW. 9¾ × 6¼, pp. xxx × 382, pl. 10. Calcutta: Indian Research Institute, 1940.

Of recent years Festschrifts have been pouring out in increasing numbers, and it may be questioned whether this development is an unmixed blessing to scholars. Papers of real importance are liable to premature interment in this class of publication, whereas, if they had appeared in one of the leading journals, they would survive for the full period of their utility. This remark applies in the case of the present volume to two papers by Lüders and Konow, adducing new evidence to show that certain inscriptions, including those on three Gandhāra sculptures, should be dated in the Parthian

era of 248 B.C.; if accepted, this finding will go a long way towards settling the disputed chronology of the period. Space does not allow of my detailing other articles, many of which are of considerable interest, though some fail to carry conviction. Besides some useful historical papers by Mirashi, Altekar and others, I should at least draw attention to Keith's criticisms of Tarn's views about the Greek kingdoms and Indian literature, to Otto Strauss on *jīva* and *paramātman* in early Vedānta literature, to Bapat on *tāyin*, etc., and to Barua on certain cruces in the Aśoka edicts, which alone would make the volume worth reading.

B. 631. E. H. JOHNSTON.

POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE. Vol. VII: Poona Affairs (1801–1810). Edited by G. S. SARDESAI. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxxiii + 579. Bombay, 1940. 13*s*.

The letters here published relate to the period when Close was Resident at the Peshwa's court. They begin with the negotiations leading up to the Treaty of Bassein and end with the appointment of Elphinstone as Resident. Their chief importance is that they furnish further evidence of the incompetency of Baji Rao II. A more judicious selection of documents would have omitted much of the wearisome detail concerning the Peshwa's relations with his turbulent *jagirdars*. Students of the decline of Maratha power should still consult Montgomery Martin's *Selections from Wellesley's Dispatches* and Mr. P. C. Gupta's *Baji Rao II*.

B. 626. C. COLLIN DAVIES.

Biblical Archaeology

LAMENTATION OVER THE DESTRUCTION OF UR. By SAMUEL N. KRAMER. 10 × 7, pp. xi + 97, pl. 4. Chicago: University Press; London: Cambridge University Press, 1940.

Those familiar with this specialist's former works upon Sumerian religious texts will share his pleasure in having at

last to present one of these lengthy compositions virtually complete in its original form of no less than 436 lines. Much of this completeness is indeed due to the labours of the editor, who has based his text upon more than twenty tablets and fragments, some already published (and mostly collated by him), others discovered and copied by him in the museums of Istanbul and Philadelphia. He observes that nearly all of these tablets were found at Nippur; he will be interested to learn, if this review comes to his notice, that a very considerable part of the poem is also preserved in tablets found at Ur, the city sacked by the Elamites and people of the western desert when they overthrew its Third Dynasty, a catastrophe lamented in this text with many vivid details by no means overdrawn, as excavation of the site has shown.

An introduction summarizes the contents of the poem, which is marked with all the usual features of these litanies, their divisions, refrains, rigid parallelism, endless repetitions, the sorrowing goddess, and vague structure, designed for cantillation by choirmen rather than for clear narrative. This is followed by a note on transliteration of the original and by an exhaustive analysis of the variants in the different copies. Then follow the full transliteration and translation, on opposite pages, a brief consecutive commentary, mainly grammatical, and finally copies of the fragments newly discovered in the museums by the editor. All of these display Dr. Kramer's exceptional familiarity with this branch of Sumerian literature, and the good sense which generally presides over his rendering of lines that are often very obscure and capable of other interpretations; in these most difficult specimens of a little-known language no work at present can pretend to finality. Only one part of the book is it impossible to praise, namely the copies of cuneiform at the end, which are extreme examples of what many hold to be a thoroughly mistaken tradition in reproducing these texts.

B. 622. C. J. Gadd.

Cuneiform

THE TELL-EL-AMARNA TABLETS. By S. A. B. MERCER. 8¾ × 6. Vol. I, pp. xxiv + 441; Vol. II, pp. 442–908, pls. 2, map 1. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1939. $17·50.

This beautifully printed work, which furnishes an English translation of the Tell-el-Amarna tablets (with the exception of a few fragments not yet published) will be of infinite use. It is the first complete work on this subject in English. In a number of instances, both in translation and transliteration, it provides readings different from those given by Knudtzon. Many of these alterations and restorations may possibly be recommended, but it would appear that others should have further consideration and comparison with the actual tablets. The notes are short and direct and matters dealt with elsewhere are not reproduced. Some of the conclusions in the articles and notes appear somewhat too definite concerning matters still open to discussion. With regard to the statement (p. 21) that "a technical study of the phraseology of the literature of the period has forced the conclusion that Ikhnaton was not a monotheist, nor was his religion monotheism", the Tell-el-Amarna tablets themselves provide evidence that Ikhnaton was a monotheist even at his accession. Moreover, the tablets indicate that Ikhnaton was kept in ignorance of the Syrian position so that his "absorption in his religious reformation" (as stated) would not seem altogether responsible for the collapse in Syria and Palestine.

This work is brought right up to date and due regard is paid to most of the research by other scholars. It would have been interesting to have had a chapter on the poetic quotations which appear in the letters.

B. 516. JOHN ROBERT TOWERS.

Miscellaneous

CATALOGUE OF PRINTED BOOKS PUBLISHED BEFORE 1932 IN THE LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. 11 × 8½, pp. vii + 591. Published by the Society, 1940.

Students consulting the Library of the Society have hitherto been compelled to make such use as they could of a printed Catalogue prepared as long ago as 1893. This Catalogue being much out of date, the Society decided some fifteen years ago to bring out a fresh Catalogue, but owing to difficulties of personnel and finance the new Catalogue was not issued till 1940. As regards personnel, efforts were made to start work by distributing the work of compilation among various learned members of the Society who were good enough to volunteer their help, but little real progress was made until 1932, when the cataloguing was taken in hand by the Assistant Librarian, Mrs. Cardew (*née* Lorimer), who carried it through to the end. The necessary financial aid was generously promised by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees and with their assistance the Catalogue has been completed.

The volume is in a handy format with a neat and serviceable binding, and the printing in two columns—is in Stephen Austin's best manner, distinguished and clear. For the lettering on the cover and title-page the Society is indebted to the kindness and taste of Professor Yetts. There is an introduction by the compiler, stating succinctly the scope of the Catalogue—what it does and what it does not include—and such other information as is necessary for the guidance of those who use it. The volume should prove of the greatest value to Orientalists who wish to consult works of the type found in the Society's Library, and it is hoped that through the agency of the National Central Library it will help to open out the use of the Society's books to a considerable public outside the membership of the Society itself. The compilation has, as above noticed, been a labour of many years, and it has been carried out by Mrs. Cardew in addition to her current

duties as Assistant Librarian, with liberal help from experts such as Mr. Ellis, Dr. Barnett, and many other supporters of the Society. It could not have been in more competent or diligent hands, and the compiler is to be congratulated on having completed in the face of considerable difficulties a work of great service to students, both within and outside the Society. It is to be regretted that owing to recent reduction of staff, Mrs. Cardew is no longer in the employment of the Society, but we have every reason to rejoice in the good fortune which, coupled with her untiring perseverance, secured the completion of this valuable work before she vacated her post in the Library.

B. 693. E. D. MACLAGAN.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Freeman Freeman-Thomas

ARQUESS OF WILLINGDON, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.

President, 1939–40

The Director, Sir Richard Winstedt, represented the Society ; the funeral of Lord Willingdon in Westminster Abbey on)th August.

Although still a strenuous servant of the Empire, Lord 'illingdon consented to be President of our Society for a year. one of the Councillors will forget his extreme courtesy and ıarm, or his kindness in attending the annual meeting and ıaking a speech in spite of the many calls upon his time ıd strength.

Sir George A. Grierson, O.M., K.C.I.E.

Sir George Grierson, O.M., died at Camberley on the ;h March, in his ninety-first year. It is fitting that this ›ciety should pay homage to the memory of one who not ıly was a member for fifty-seven years, an honorary Vice-resident, and a Gold Medallist of the Society, but also, in e grand tradition of Sir William Jones, proved himself ıe of the greatest scholars, perhaps even the greatest there ıs been, of India and its languages.

George Abraham Grierson, son of the late Dr. G. A. Grierson, as born at Glenageary, Co. Dublin, on 7th January, 1851. rom Shrewsbury School he went to Trinity College, Dublin. ere the foundation of his life-work was laid. For though took mathematical honours, he was also exhibitioner in ınskrit and Hindustani. Robert Atkinson, Professor of riental Languages at Trinity College, was the first to direct interest to those studies to which he was to make through ng and fruitful years so monumental a contribution. In the

latter days of his life, in the study at Camberley with the evidence of those years about them, his friends often heard the Grand Old Man of Indian philology speak in affectionate memory of his old teacher.

In 1873 Grierson entered the Indian Civil Service and was posted to district work in Bihar. By 1896 he had become additional Commissioner of Patna. His interest in the language of the people, stimulated by his study of Sanskrit under Atkinson before he came to India, continually deepened and widened. To all who see in such a work a powerful link of sympathy between Indians and Englishmen, it is a matter of profound regret that the latter, entering the Indian Civil Service, are no longer permitted to offer Sanskrit as a subject in the final examination of Probationers. Grierson's passion for the study of Indian languages, once aroused, did not flag; and even when he was engaged in administrative duties, a quick succession of articles and books flowed from his pen. Many of them naturally dealt with the speech, customs, traditions, and literature of the people of this region of India. One of his first articles in 1877 was *Notes on the Rangpur Dialect*. Year by year many articles and books followed, including the splendid *Bihar Peasant Life*, which, being a discursive catalogue of the surroundings of the people of that province, might still find imitators in other provinces with great profit both to science and to practical government.

All this was a preparation for far wider studies of Indian languages. In 1894 the project of a Linguistic Survey of India, proposed at the International Congress of Orientalists in 1886, at which Grierson was present, was sanctioned by the Government of India. In 1898 Grierson was placed on special duty to collect and edit the lists and specimens of all the varieties of speech in the survey area, which were ordered to be forwarded through district officers and political agents. In 1903 he retired from India, and made his home at Camberley in Surrey. Here for some years he had the able assistance of the Norwegian scholar, Dr. Sten Konow, who compiled

several of the earlier volumes of the Survey. **But for the most part during the succeeding quarter of a century he laboured single-handed.** The year 1928 saw the completion of two very notable works in the field of linguistic science: one was the *New English Dictionary*, finished after seventy years of labour; the other was the *Linguistic Survey of India*. The first provided an unrivalled history of the vocabulary of one language, the other has given us descriptions in 20 quarto volumes and nearly 8,000 pages, not of one language only, not even of the different dialects of one language, nor even of a group of connected languages, but of four separate and distinct families—the Austro-Asiatic, the Sino-Tibetan, the Dravidian, and the Aryan—excluding two languages as yet unclassified; and these families are represented in India alone (or rather in that part of India with which the Survey deals) by 179 separate languages (of which the test is mutual unintelligibility) and 544 dialects. This monumental work is not only an inexhaustible mine for all those who study the languages of India, but beyond any other has stimulated in Indians a just pride in their own vernaculars and a deep interest in the long history that lies behind them.

The last volume was published in 1928 in the author's 77th year. His 82nd year saw the fourth and last volume of the great dictionary of Kashmiri, the compilation of which he had begun while still in India.

Kashmiri, an Indo-Aryan language, is the one written language of the Dardic group, then scarcely known, but of high philological interest, in the study of which Grierson's own *Piśāca Languages of North-Western India* had made a notable beginning. With the Dardic group all the three main varieties of Romani (if only because the Gypsies in their journey from India sojourned among Dardic speaking tribes) whatever their ultimate dialectic connections in Indo-Aryan, have striking affinities. These doubtless turned Grierson's attention to the study of Romani and its connection with India. A number of papers from 1887 onwards testify to this interest

and it was fitting that in 1927 he should have been elected President of the Gypsy Lore Society.

To celebrate his 85th birthday many of his friends and admirers contributed articles to a *Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies* published in his honour by the School of Oriental Studies, on the Governing Body of which he had represented this Society. The volume (*Bull. S.O.S.*, vol. viii, pts. 2 and 3) contains a bibliography of Grierson's writings. The mere list of them occupies 22 pages. Nevertheless the deputation which waited on him to present the gift was met with an ἀντίδωρον in the shape of his latest work, a volume in the Society's Prize Publications, which had been too late for inclusion in the bibliography.

Many universities and learned societies delighted to honour Grierson. He was made a Companion of the Indian Empire in 1894 and a Knight of the same Order in 1912. But nothing gave greater pleasure to all his friends and admirers than the conferment in 1928 of the Order of Merit on the author of the *Linguistic Survey of India.*

No attempt to assess the value of Grierson's work could be complete without reference to his broad humanity, his delightful humour, his never-failing kindness. He was big in body, mind, and soul. He had a boundless energy and enthusiasm and a firmness of spirit which, held undeviating on the path he had chosen, triumphed over every difficulty of circumstance. Neither age nor sickness diminished that enthusiasm or dimmed that spirit. Beyond all, his delight in encouraging his fellow workers and particularly the young among them made " Rathfarnham " a place of pilgrimage for scholars of all races and from every country, and especially from his own loved India. Fortunate indeed were those who enjoyed the hospitality that he and Lady Grierson offered in their home ; and to all who have sat in the study of " Rathfarnham " the memory of that great and good man will be an abiding joy.

R. L. TURNER.

Maharaja Adhiraja Bijay Chand Mahtab of Burdwan

The news of the death in Calcutta on 29th August, 1941, of Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab, Maharaja Adhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, must have been learnt with deep regret by all members of the Royal Asiatic Society. He had been a member of the Society since 1906, and often attended its meetings during his visits to this country.

The late Maharaja, born on 19th October, 1881, was a son of Raja Ban Bihari Kapur, who was closely related to the well-known Maharaja Mahtab Chand Bahadur (1820–1879). On the death of Maharaja Aftab Chand, Bijay Chand was adopted by the widowed Maharani, and succeeded to the Estate in 1887. The family came originally from Lahore in the seventeenth century, and by the middle of the following century the Burdwan Raj had secured a pre-eminent position among the leading landholding families of Bengal. Maharaja Mahtab Chand had been a nobleman honoured not only for the help he consistently rendered to the Government of the day, but also for his educational and other charitable activities. The youthful Maharaja Bijay Chand was very carefully educated and trained for his great heritage, and with his keen intelligence and acute common sense took full advantage of his many opportunities. He travelled widely in his earlier years, and in his *Diary of an European Tour* displayed much power of observation. For a time it looked as if the Maharaja was aiming at a literary career. His poems and dramas in Bengali showed considerable promise, but as years passed the management of his own extensive estates, together with the calls of public duty, absorbed most of his time. In 1908, he saved the life of Sir Andrew Fraser, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, from an attack by a criminal assailant, and received the Indian Order of Merit. For many subsequent years he served almost continuously as a representative of the Bengal landholders in the Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils. He was a member of the Bengal Cabinet from 1919 to 1924, and afterwards served on several important

ɪvernment Committees and Commissions, and he was also representative of India at the Imperial Conference of 1926. was as a member of the Bengal Land Revenue Commission ɩat he paid his last visit to England in the summer of 1939. ɪ politics, the views of the Maharaja were remarkable for sturdy independence, clarity, and moderation of judgment, ɪd for his far-sightedness. He won the trust and esteem th of his own countrymen and of British officials.

In spite of his numerous official and public activities, aharaja Bijay Chand always retained an active interest in holarly pursuits. He held high office on many occasions the Asiatic Society of Bengal; he was a Trustee of the ɪdian Museum and the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta; and ɪ belonged to various learned societies both in India and in ngland. The Universities of Edinburgh and Cambridge nferred honorary doctorates on him. To the last he was generous patron of scholars and literary workers in Bengal. He was made K.C.I.E. in 1909, K.C.S.I. in 1911, and .C.I.E. in 1924. Maharaja Bijay Chand has been succeeded y his elder son, Uday Chand Mahtab, who is a graduate of ɪe Calcutta University and a member of the Bengal Legis- tive Assembly, and we wish him a career as noble ɪd useful as that of his illustrious father.

ATUL C. CHATTERJEE.

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RULES RELATING TO MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(as amended on 8th May, 1941)

3. (*a*) Members shall be divided into three classes :—

(1) Fellows resident in Great Britain or abroad.

(2) Members who usually reside outside the London postal area and have no place of business there

(3) Honorary Fellows and Foreign Extraordinary Fellows admitted as hereinafter provided.

(*b*) Members in the first two classes are hereinafter designated Ordinary Members.

4. Any person desirous of becoming a Fellow or Member must be nominated by one Member and seconded by another, of whom one must act on a personal knowledge that the candidate is likely to be a suitable and useful Member ; and the nominating Member shall address the Secretary in writing and give the candidate's name, address, and occupation, or status, and shall state to which of the aforesaid classes the candidate desires to be admitted. Provided always that in the case of persons domiciled abroad, it shall be within the power of the Council on being satisfied as to the credentials of any particular candidate, to dispense with these conditions.

17. The annual subscriptions of Ordinary Members shall be as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
Fellows	3	3	0
Members residing in the British Isles	2	2	0
Members residing abroad	1	10	0

17A. The Annual Subscription for Associates shall be as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
Library Associates	1	10	0
Student Associates		10	6

19. An Ordinary Member may compound for all future annual subscriptions by paying in lieu thereof one sum calculated according to the Member's age and category as follows :—

Under 40 years of age : Eleven times the annual subscription as laid down in Rule 17.

Between 40 and 60 years of age : Nine times the annual subscription as laid down in Rule 17.

Over 60 years of age : Seven times the annual subscription as laid down in Rule 17.

23. The first payment of subscription is due on election, but if a candidate be elected in November or December of any year, the first annual subscription paid by him shall cover the year beginning on the 1st January next after his election.

24. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the first day of January of each year.

P.T.O.

When a candidate is proposed for election, this form should be completed in block letters and sent to the Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1.

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